# THE REPUBLIC
*and*
# THE CHURCH

McCLOREY

# THE REPUBLIC AND THE CHURCH

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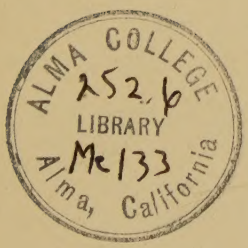
*A SERIES OF LENTEN LECTURES*
*MAINLY ON DIVORCE AND BIRTH CONTROL*

Assist. Amer.

BY

THE REVEREND JOHN A. McCLOREY, S. J.
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF DETROIT

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## PREFACE

The following six lectures were given in SS. Peter and Paul's (Jesuit) Church, in the Arcadia Hall of Detroit, and in Holy Family Church of Chicago during the Lent of 1926. The number of people who heard them each week was approximately 9,000. About one-fourth of the audience were non-Catholics.

The purpose of the lectures was: (1) to arouse the hearers to a sense of the necessity of opposing the quite prevalent movement in America to change our Republic into something essentially different from what it was in the beginning; (2) to convince them of the menaces which divorce and birth control (euphemistically so-called) are to our country; and (3) to answer in the affirmative the question which has lately been discussed in *The Forum,* "Is the Catholic Church Friendly to the Republic?"

I am glad to express my indebtedness to Doctor Halliday Sutherland, from whose

books on birth control I drew material for the two sermons on that subject.

It was gratifying to discover from letters sent me after the birth control sermons were delivered, that great numbers of non-Catholics are as opposed to the Neo-Malthusian movement as Catholics themselves.

JOHN A. MCCLORY, S.J.

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# THE REPUBLIC AND THE CHURCH

# THE REPUBLIC AND THE CHURCH

## I

## THIS REPUBLIC

A characteristic of our Constitution is that it is a written one. The advantage of a written constitution lies in the fact that it epitomizes in compact form the essential elements of a State and the spirit of a nation. Like a star or a ball of fire in the sky, it stands out in its concentrated identity before the eyes of the people, so that he who runs may see it.

Its disadvantage is that it is likely to be inflexible. However, our Constitution is not inflexible. On the contrary, within the boundaries of rectitude, it is quite elastic and adaptable because its writers infused into it eternal truths of right, justice and obligation which are ever ancient, ever new.

They wisely refrained from working it out in detail, lest what would suit their needs would not suit ours. They left the matter of detailing to future generations who would know best what particularized extension of the general principles would fit in with their requirements.

The advantage of an unwritten constitution like the British is, that, growing with the passing centuries, it can absorb the wisdom and experience of the ages. Its disadvantage is that, instead of developing along the lines of its original type, it may in the end evolve into something quite different from what it was at the start.

Three unifying forces in a government are: antiquity, identity of race, and a written constitution. Because the English have the first two, they do not miss the third. We lack the first two, and therefore imperatively need the third. However, despite this urgent requirement, there are individuals among us,—not Bolsheviks, but eminently respectable men,—who partly from an exaggerated love for England, partly from the lust of greater freedom of action, speak and write of "scrapping" the Constitution. Sometimes they employ the more

moderate but therefore no less insidious words: "recasting it," "bringing it up to the time." Let them reflect on the difference between the English government and ours and consider that if we "junk" the Constitution, the melting pot of harmony will very likely become a seething cauldron of anarchy.

The first provision of the Constitution is a guarantee of protection for certain personal and family rights which in nature and time are prior to all civil government. The Constitution mentions three of them: the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. But there are others. For example, the right to marry, to have children, to educate them and to use the necessary means of doing so, chief of which are the right to private property, the right to a living wage, the right to unionize and strike, and the right to follow conscience in serving God.

The people do not exist for the State; the State exists for the people. They are the masters; the State is their servant. Indeed, the people create the State. Therefore, just as a policeman is appointed to regulate the movement of automobiles, not to own them; to preserve order in a neighbor-

hood, not to enter homes and sit in lordly fashion at the head of the table; so the State is set up to direct, not, to abridge, cripple or destroy the people's rights. He who has eyes cannot help observing that attempts are being made by large groups of men among us to strike at these basic rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the natural law.

The second provision of the Constitution bears on the channel through which authority descends from God to the president or king. The founders of our Republic believed in the divine right of the people, as contrasted with the divine right of kings. It is a matter of pride to me as a Catholic that the first man who set forth in scientific form the principle of the divine right of the people was Cardinal Bellarmine, a Jesuit of the sixteenth century. One of the popes of his time claimed the right to depose tyrannical rulers. King James I of England contradicted the pope because, as he said, the right to rule comes directly from God to the king, hence no human power can withdraw it. Bellarmine, taking up the cudgels for the pope, contended that civil authority passes directly from God to the people, who

then embody it in their chosen representatives. For this reason, the people can deprive a tyrant of his throne, and if they are too weak for that, the pope can do it in their place.

Bellarmine's thesis remained purely academic until an English king oppressed the colonists beyond the sea. Then it became an actuality. For the people rebelled, fought the Revolutionary War, and, after futile attempts to make the Confederation work, embodied the principle of democracy in their Constitution. For in this document it is stated that all civil power comes from the people.

The third provision of the Constitution upon which, together with the fourth, I shall dwell at greater length, has reference to the extent of civil power. According to the Constitution, the people should concede to civil authority as much power as is needed for good government; no more. Less than that would result in anarchy; more than that would be autocratic and superfluous.

"As much power as is needed for good government" means what is necessary or useful (*and more useful than harmful.*) More than what is necessary and useful we

*may not* yield up. What is necessary we *must* yield up. What is more useful than harmful we *may,* but *need not* yield up. The first principle is true because, since God gave us our personal liberty for use, He intends us to retain as much of it as possible, consistently with the rights of others. The second principle is true because civil government, which is a natural necessity for men, is impossible without the requisite cession of personal rights. The third principle is true because, while it is commendable, it is not obligatory to do the better and more useful thing. This seems to be the meaning of Christ's words: "Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's."

Our country has been called characteristically "the land of the free." There was a time when all Americans esteemed liberty at its true value. But of late the spirit of freedom is waning. We are not jealous enough of our personal rights, as opposed to State authority; nor of State rights in contradistinction to Federal assumption of power. The cry of "efficiency" has gone abroad through the land; and because numbers of us imagine that centralized government promotes efficiency, we have been tend-

ing to centralize power in the State at the expense of the individual, and in the government at Washington at the expense of the States.

The Ku Kluxers would confer on the government the right of discriminating in religion, color, and race. Prohibitionists, instead of allowing the liquor question to remain in the hands of individuals, or, at least, of the State, have burdened the already overloaded shoulders of the Federal government with enforcement of a dry régime. Civil evolutionists would introduce from the material world into civil life the principle of evolution. In their mind, our Republic is not a permanent form, but a transitional state, a passing phase of rule, to be succeeded by another. This doctrine is pernicious; for, since our government, though not perfect in practice, is nevertheless ideal in theory, with its double regard for liberty and efficiency; it follows that civic evolution would not be evolution at all, but rather a de-volution down to some inferior type of mobocracy or autocracy. Anti-parochial school extremists would deprive parents of educational authority over their children and confide it to the State.

Scottish Rite Masons of the Southern and Northwestern Jurisdictions, according to their own confession, are behind the anti-Catholic aggression. Promoters of the Sterling-Reed Bill (formerly the Smith-Towner, then Towner-Sterling Bill) would take the control of public schools out of the hands of the individual States and place it in the hands of a newly created Secretary of Education at Washington. Some capitalists would rob workingmen of the right to unionize and strike and make the State arbiter of all labor affairs. And some workingmen would abolish the right of private property and constitute the State the paternalistic owner of all material possessions.

Personally, I do not think that centralized government will help efficiency. It seems to and indeed does so for a time. Like a machine, centralized government works well while it is in good gear; but let it be thrown out of gear, and it will not go; there will be no one to make it go; for the people will have been deprived of their freedom, initiative, and sense of responsibility. But in the long run that government seems to be

best in which the people retain as much power as possible; because a free people will save the nation, even if the machinery of government should perish.

But even if a centralized government promoted efficiency, it would still be a question whether we should purchase that blessing at the price of liberty. For this reason, in every appeal made to us to legislate in the name of efficiency, let us ponder the price we are asked to pay in the coin of liberty. Thomas Jefferson stated the principle: "The presumption is always in favor of freedom"; the burden of showing the necessity of yielding it rests on the shoulders of the promoters of efficiency. In an autocracy the ruler says: "Let the people have only so much liberty as is consistent with the greatest measure of my power." In a democracy the people say: "Let the ruler have only so much power as accords with the greatest measure of our liberty." Now, we live in a democracy and we ought to live in Missouri, requiring to be shown why in the name of efficient government we should be asked to sacrifice the best thing we possess.

The fourth element of the Constitution provides not for a pure, but a representative democracy, called a republic.

In a pure democracy the people set up a legate, who voices their views and executes their will (and also their whims), expressed to him in detail. In a republic the people elect a representative who is supposed by them to use his judgment and follow his own initiative, always, of course, keeping within the bounds of the Constitution. A republic, as distinguished from a monarchy and a pure democracy, is the ideal form of government, because it best secures the freedom of the people and efficient rule. But a pure democracy is incompatible with efficiency and curtails liberty.

We hear too much these days of the super-excellence of the people. Pure democracy has become a fetish in our land. One would imagine, to hear its praises, that it is a deity of infinite wisdom and integrity. True, the people are capable of selecting their rulers and lawmakers, but they are not, as a whole, competent to manage the elaborate and intricate machinery of civic rule. Of course, there are intellectual and moneyed aristocrats among us, born Tories, who cannot get

it into their heads that the common people have an uncommon degree of common sense when dealing with the broad and general activities of the commonwealth. With these men I have no part. For, as a democrat, I hold that the people are proficient in such offices. But that is quite a different thing from subscribing to the opinion that the people are versed in the detailed operations of State. State-craft, with its requirements of infinite patience, diplomacy, respect for varying views, firmness with gentleness, acquaintance with constitutional law and knowledge of practical psychology, is the finest and most difficult of arts.

Now if the best of brains and long training are needed for the professions of law, medicine, business, and the pastorate of souls, it is not surprising that similar qualities and preparation should be a necessary condition for successful government. How can the populace, with its modicum of intelligence, lack of time, engrossment in daily occupations, slight opportunity for study and training in civics, with its hot temper, passionate preferences, bigotry, and its susceptibility to demagogues;—how can the populace be trusted with civil affairs of in-

finite delicacy, nice shades of equity and tremendous consequences?

Moreover, pure democracy destroys freedom. There is no tyranny like the tyranny of the mob, which, if it had the power, would stamp out the liberty of minorities. Moreover, the mob, unintentionally of course, by a divine irony of retribution, would destroy its own liberty; because a necessary element of true liberty is respect for the weak. Liberty consists as much in self-repression as in self-expression. An autocrat is free enough; for he is free to do as he likes. But who would call license, "liberty"? Now a brow-beating majority is worse than any autocrat. Sometimes, also, the mob intentionally sacrifices its freedom. It cuts off its nose to spite its face, so to speak. It conquers a minority by ceding to the government rights common to the majority and minority; rights which the majority does not want, but the minority does.

Now if rights yielded to the State could be recovered by the people as easily as they are given, cession of rights would not be so disastrous. But we know from history that States have always been tenacious of power given them by their subjects.

Finally, in the ups and downs of life a tyrannical majority may in time become a minority and be robbed of its rights by its victim of former days.

From all this it appears that the conversion of a republic into a pure democracy (a process which has been going on among us for some time), though it seems to extend liberty, really curtails it.

If the mob were left to its own devices, a pure democracy would not be so dangerous. But behind the mob would be the two forces of propaganda and demagogy. The press would put ideas into the minds of the people, who would then be flattered into thinking that they themselves conceived them. The press does that even now. Public opinion is created by the press which pretends only to express it. In a pure democracy, the press could induce the people to believe almost anything. As likely as not, its influence would be evil. But even if it were good, why should the people prefer the ideas of the press to those of their duly elected trained representatives?

Then demagogues with their power of eloquence, magnetism of character, and one-sidedness of view could cast their baneful

net of misguidance around the hero-worshipping populace.

The founders of the Republic were aware that men generally go to extremes and therefore the Revolutionists in their swing away from English autocracy would be inclined to go too far in the opposite direction. They wished by all means to keep the golden mean of an intelligent and tolerant rule. So they set up a republic with three departments of government, the executive, legislative, and judicial, the representatives of which are to use their intelligence in fulfilling their office, without an excessive regard for the desires and whims of the people.

What, therefore, shall we think of demagogues who preach an unqualified sovereignty of the people? In a certain sense the people rule and the ruler serves. The authority to command comes to the ruler through the people; they elect him; in certain circumstances they can depose him; they set the ordinary length of his tenure of power; he must govern according to the Constitution which the people have accepted; he is in office for the express purpose of advancing their interests; they have a right to express their wishes to him, and he must

accord them due attention and respect. In this sense the people rule; the ruler serves. In this sense we are a government of the people, for the people, and by the people. But in another sense the people serve, the ruler rules. For since all authority comes from God, as soon as they elect a man, he is clothed in God's authority; and as they must obey God, so they must obey him, according to republican requirements. Hence the wickedness of demagogues who flatter the conceit of the people with unqualified catch-phrases expressive of a popular sovereignty which simply does not exist.

A similar menace to the Republic is the sort of politicians whose exclusive office it seems to be to keep their ear to the ground so as to know what the people want. Do not mistake my words. Rulers, I said above, ought to consult the will of the people. But they must not make every wish of the people their only motive of action. The people elect a man to represent them. They ought to let him do that. They ought to choose a man of supreme integrity, intelligence, and experience; and then let him use his judgment in affairs of State. Most of us have not the time, knowledge, judgment, or

experience to decide equitably questions of civil government. When we pay for the services of a doctor, lawyer or business man we trust to their knowledge and experience; we do not tell them what to do; but they tell us. But too many in a republic regard their representatives as dancing puppets, and themselves as master-showmen pulling the strings. They need not elect a man to office at all; they may dismiss him if he does not satisfy; but while in office he ought to be unhampered by the crowd. This is the opinion of former Vice-President Marshall, who said some time ago that most of the Senators who voted for Prohibition did so against their better judgment, in response to the clamor of their constituents. If the voice of the people were spontaneous and general, submission to it might generally be right. But we know that most popular petitions are the result of cliques, party propaganda, and artificially aroused interest; and that a few extremists writing constantly to Congress convey the impression of a persistent and universal demand.

The words of Edmund Burke, always wise, are especially so on this point. Speaking to the Bristol electors he said: "It is better to

look to the nature of things than to the humors of men. The very attempt to please everybody discovers a temper always flashy and often false and insincere. If we degrade and deprave the minds of our representatives by servility, it will be absurd to expect that they who are creeping and abject toward us, will ever be bold and incorruptible assertors of our freedom. If the people should choose their representatives on the principles of mere obsequiousness and flexibility and total vacancy or indifference of opinion in all public matters, then no part of the State will be sound, and it will be in vain to think of saving it." Civil authority is from God, and those to whom it has been entrusted have reason to hope that God's light will be upon them in office for the good of the people. In that light, in the Constitution and laws, in the advice of shrewd and honest councillors, and in their own judgment they ought to place a firm confidence. They ought to do their duty with a clear eye and a firm hand, and not be swayed hither and thither by the fickleness, passionate prejudices, unenlightened appeals and prompted demands of the multitude, agitated by demagogues and paid

promoters of party schemes. There are workingmen who, possibly without knowing it, are threatening the government. If they rely on their numbers and their power of striking to force the ruler to yield to their demands even against his better judgment; if labor leaders habitually keep large numbers of union men from exerting their best efforts in production, they are thereby impoverishing the State; they are threatening the government. If they demand exorbitant wages for little work, they are aiming a mortal blow at the welfare of the public; they are threatening the government. If they deny or cripple the right of private property and thus dissipate the energy, ambition, and initiative of property owners, they are dissipating the wealth of the nation; they are threatening the government. If they over-emphasize class-consciousness and propagate the false doctrine that employers and employees are natural enemies, between whom peace is impossible, they are fomenting discord, swelling dissatisfaction, banishing peace, and breeding the spirit of revolution; they are threatening the government. Thank God, there is a strong conservative group among our workmen, whose

innate common sense, justice, moderation, and patriotism are encouraging. *It is the duty of every man to stand by that group!* If such workingmen are deserted, God only knows whether they will remain faithful. The conservative rich ought to be their best friends. The radical rich may drive the moderate laboring class to despair. With radical employers on the one hand, refusing to yield them anything; and radical workmen on the other hand, ridiculing them for their temperate demands, it is not unlikely that moderates will desert their middle ground and seek refuge in the tents of the Bolsheviks. It rests with us to do all we can to prevent this catastrophe,—if not for the sake of labor, at least for the sake of the government.

The radical rich are men who believe in the principle "Hands off." They want to pursue their industrial ambition without State interference. The State may interfere with labor, but not with them. Such men are a menace because their united industrial and commercial power makes them superior to the State; because they can close down the whole economic machinery overnight if they wish to; and because their

autocratic power breeds the spirit of revolt.

The most dangerous element of all are the Bolsheviks who would destroy this Republic by force. A revolution is sometimes permissible. When a government utterly fails in its office of serving the people, when all peaceful means to better conditions have been tried in vain, and there is no further hope of civil reform, when all the people spontaneously call for a change in government, when they are resolved to limit the use of revolutionary violence as much as possible and are justified in their hope of replacing the old by a new and better form of rule; then and then only is a revolution justified. *Then* it is justified. For since the only purpose of civil rule is the welfare of subjects, if it fails entirely in that respect it has no reason to exist. But *only then* is a revolution justifiable. For since peace and prosperity are the most desirable things upon earth and since the State is the best natural means of maintaining them, it follows that the most stringent conditions must be required to justify the forceful abolition of a State.

What, therefore, shall we think of a handful of agitators who presumptuously imag-

ine that they are voicing the will of the people in calling for a violent change in this Republic, which, though very imperfect, has been serving the people, which can be cleansed of its defects by ballots without bullets, which cannot be attacked by them with any hope of success nor replaced by any government half as good. We have such fanatics in our midst;—men who would, if they could, wreck the majestic structure of the Republic:—a mansion conceived by the brains of statesmen, built with the sweat of patriots! and cemented by the blood of soldiers. Let us take our stand against Bolshevism. Let us be obedient, loyal and reverent to the government, being convinced that obedience is the best preservative of liberty, that loyalty is the finest manifestation of independence, and that reverence has always been attendant upon true freedom of thought, sentiment, and deed. Chiefly with us, the people, rests the safety of the Republic. Let us rise to a sense of our responsibility, let us appreciate the dignity of our office, let us carry the burden of our charge.

But rulers also must help to maintain the ideal of the Republic and not allow them-

selves to be browbeaten by the people, whether rich or poor. For this reason, if it is not impertinent for me to address rulers in general, I would say that they ought to think more of statesmanship than of mere politics; more of filling an office well than of getting it ill; more of their burdens than their emoluments; more of the public good than of personal ambition; more of governmental principles than of opportunism; more of justice and right than of expediency; more of the approbation of conscience than of popular acclaim; more of the Republic than of the mob; more of their promises in the last election than of their prospects for the next. If we have rulers who live up to such ideals, our government will be a real republic, not a pure democracy; the rulers will rule, not the crowd. True heroism is needed to withstand the importunities of the people and risk defeat at the polls. But if a ruler has not heroism, he has no business in the government. Lawyers, doctors, soldiers, and priests must at times risk all in pursuit of their calling. Rulers should do as much. If they will not, they personally may possibly survive, but the Republic will not. Add to this, the people admire

a brave man, even though he is opposed to them, and most likely will re-elect him in spite of his independent attitude.

I said that the two civil enemies of the Republic are autocracy and mobocracy. But really these are only one enemy—autocracy. For, mobocracy evolves into autocracy. The people are not satisfied with the republican power they possess, they demand more and lose all. And the reasons are, first, the people are not competent to manage the intricate and detailed affairs of State; secondly, they lust for excessive governmental efficiency; and thirdly, they wish to use the authorities to down adversaries in the State. So, bye and bye, for these reasons, they transfer all their power to the government.

The last provision of the Constitution is a group of checks and balances which will prevent any of the three departments of government from obtaining a monopoly of power. The president can do practically nothing without Congress. The legislation of Congress can be vetoed by the president. But lest his veto-power should become excessive, Congress can override the presidential veto by a two-thirds' majority. It can even

impeach the president and twice has made the attempt. The Supreme Court can pronounce legislation of Congress and acts of the president unconstitutional. But then members of the Supreme Court are appointed and can be dismissed by the president. True, efficiency is somewhat impeded by the interaction of the departments, but liberty is insured; and liberty is better than efficiency.

Here, then, you have, in a crude way, an idea of our Republic. It is a lovable thing, and we ought to love it from our hearts. It is *our* government. This ought to be enough for our filial devotion and loyalty; even if, as a civil institution, it were an inferior form of rule. However, as a matter of fact, it is the most perfect form of rule yet devised. For a century and a half it has been rich in fruits of peace, religious tolerance, personal freedom, and wealth. Its Constitution was formulated with travail by master statesmen with the fond fatherly hope that we, their children, would receive it from their hands with filial regard and jealously hold fast to it always as a sacred boon. Though, *absolutely* speaking, it is morally permissible for us to change the Constitu-

tion fundamentally, yet *relatively* speaking, *i. e.,* with reference to peace and prosperity, such a right is doubtful. God wants us to enjoy peace and prosperity; but a fundamental change in our Constitution would gravely threaten peace and prosperity; therefore, God can be said to be opposed to a basic constitutional change among us. However, in my appeal to you, I wish to insist rather on the unbecomingness than the moral wrong of such a change. Now surely it seems unbecoming for us to tinker with the Constitution, especially in the direction of autocracy. The Fathers of the Republic knew at what a price they had delivered this country from tyranny; knew from history that rulers and legislators generally tend to wrest power from the people; knew that with the passing of time the people themselves, like prodigals squandering a fortune earned by hardworking parents, would lose appreciation of their rights and immunities; would forget that eternal vigilance is the cost of preserving liberty; that it is humiliating for freemen to ask the government to do for them what they can and ought to do for themselves; that the government never assumes responsibility for us without

exacting a toll of freedom from us; that prosperity and efficiency purchased at the price of independence are not worth having, and that those who invoke civil legislation to down an adverse party in the state will discover that their aggression sooner or later will prove to be a boomerang to themselves. The writers of the Constitution with the prescience of seers were aware of all this; and from the darkness of the past they seem to warn us that, while *development* of the Constitution, *i.e.*, growth along the lines of the original type, is right and desirable, *evolution, i.e.*, a change of the Constitution into something fundamentally different from what it was at the start, though it seems to have its advantages, will in the long run ruin a free people. We ought to be loyal to those men. We ought not to look exclusively to the future; we ought fondly to contemplate the past. Progress is admirable, but not more so than conservatism. Liberty is a noble thing; but so is loyalty. Loyalty without liberty becomes servility. But liberty without loyalty is liable to degenerate into irreverence and anarchical insolence.

For this reason I can commend nothing

more insistently to my fellow-citizens at the present time than respect, love, obedience, and loyalty to the Constitution, just as it is, neither essentially more nor essentially less. By the Republic we stand or fall. Whatever we have we owe to it. In it are placed our firmest hopes. Its liberties were purchased for us by the precious blood of the Revolutionists and preserved for us in the late war by the no less precious blood of our boys. Let not their blood have been shed in vain! Any man coming to our shores from foreign soil is taken to the bosom of Columbia; warmed at her mother's breasts and nurtured by her milk. He is an ingrate and a matricide of the blackest dye if he raises his hand against her. A democratic form of government is emphatically not a communistic form. Republicanism is not Socialism. Liberty is not license. Obedience is not slavery. Authority is not tyranny. Popular rule is not mob rule. Equality before God and government does not imply economic equality, equality of individual ability, equality in material possessions. Under our government equal opportunities are given to all; but at the same time exceptional ability, industry, and thrift are al-

lowed their just rewards. Columbia will help the needy, but she will not unduly handicap the efficient. She would like to see among her children less diversity of wealth than at present exists, but she will not be generous to the poor by being unjust to the rich. Differences between man and man always have been, are, and by the law of nature always will be—differences in native forcefulness, intelligence, ambition, and initiative; differences in devotion to duty, in application to tasks; differences in thrift and in the ability to seize opportunities. Columbia recognizes these and she will never submit to the demands of radicals, that she should withhold from merit its deserts, penalize genius, and put a premium on inability and sloth. She will not harness race-horses with draught-horses nor reduce the speed of flying chariots to the movement of lumbering wains. This would be unjust; and men who ambition such equalization at her hands, prove by their ambition that they do not understand the elementary principles of democratic government.

Second, if I may address the generality of American born, I would say that there has been a prevalent disposition among many of

us of late to tamper with the Constitution, to forget American traditions, to think ourselves wiser in our generation than the founders of the Republic, to ambition civic innovations and to imagine that every suggested change in our national life is desirable simply because it is new. We have been witnessing marvelous changes in the scientific and industrial world, and by an illogical comparison we conclude that government also, like science and industry, ought to be changed. Let us not be tamperers; let us not belong to the ignoble group of meddlers; let us regard sacred things with reverence. Gladstone said that our Constitution is the most wonderful document ever written at one time in its entirety. Let us kneel with devotion at its shrine! People who, even with good intentions, are working for changes in our system of government, are unwittingly playing into the hands of radicals, aiding the cause of revolution, and feeding fuel to the spirit of unrest by exemplifying in their own lives an unhealthy love of novelty. Now, of all times, when the whole world is in commotion, we ought to be conservative. Abraham Lincoln said: "Never swap horses while crossing a

stream"; and I say: Do not make changes in the middle of a swirling current of civic unrest. Wait till you arrive at the firm bank of normality, before making a change. For you ought to know that agitators take advantage of a people's nervous tension and strain to innovate in the body politic. When equable and calm, we look before we leap; and generally after looking, we do not leap. But when we are disturbed in the midst of chaos, we are open to the influence of radical reformers, who preach extreme measures for the removal of chaos,—a cure which is worse than the disease. "Do not make many new laws, but enforce old laws," is a wise maxim. And a still wiser one, it seems to me, is: "Do not readily modify the Constitution, but study it, understand it, love it, preserve it, enforce it." A constitution, after all, is supposed to be the one permanent thing in a government. Presidents may come and presidents may go. Old laws may fall into desuetude and new ones arise. New races may come to our shores to inoculate the nation with their foreign blood; the original stock may perish utterly. But the Constitution, through all these vicissitudes, like a rock placidly immovable for

a thousand years in the midst of boiling waters, must remain the same, at least essentially the same, now and forever.

And since liberty is at the base of our national being, nobody must be allowed to meddle with personal freedom in favor of State autocracy; or with State freedom in favor of federal assumption of power. A nice and exquisite balance must be struck between liberty and authority. Too much liberty is license; too much authority is tyranny. Now, a democracy is the most delicately adjusted form of government, because the balance of which I speak is most imperative in democracies; and therefore most delicate, reverent, and circumspect must be the man who shall presume to lay his hand on the machinery of democratic government. Oh! the scientific care, ethical wisdom, deep political foresight, and parental love with which the founders of our Republic formulated the various provisions of the Constitution! They did not write it overnight. They weighed every word of it; they consulted about each phrase; they prayed, most likely, over every paragraph. They knew the possible excesses into which we, their children, would be tempted to run,

and they provided against them by the golden moderation of their immortal instrument.

It seems to me, therefore, that, on an occasion like this, we ought to take the high resolve to hold fast to the Constitution, to moor ourselves to the best traditions of America, to be suspicious of the spirit of change, to weigh the advisability of new legislation, new alliances, new foreign entanglements, new constitutional amendments, new political views;—in a word, to fear a new America built on the ruins of the old; to fear a counterfeit which would replace the genuine; to fear and reject the gilded brass which deceivers would have us accept in exchange for our pure gold.

Finally, rich men must stand by our government. The reason why the French people broke out in their bloody Revolution was because the privileged few had been making the life of the many intolerable. The wealth of the classes and the poverty of the masses have been at the bottom of well nigh every revolution in history. For rich men quite generally in the past have had too much influence in civil government by virtue of their wealth.

Now this preferential influence is not right. Our government is not communistic; but it is also not aristocratic. The few ought not to try to control it. Those who by means of wealth or by any other means attempt to do that, do not love their country; for they are endeavoring to break down the democratic form of the government. They preach unctuously of the danger of Bolshevism to the State and forget that they themselves are a danger to the State. A temporary advantage will be gained by monopolizing power, but the loss to democracy will be great. If you love the Constitution, use your power moderately, men of wealth! Maintain the spirit of the Republic. Strive that new legislation may be just, not partial. Convince the observant public that the general welfare is not less important to you than your personal advancement. Do this, and the world will applaud you as defenders of democracy, as haters of revolution, and, therefore, as promoters of economic peace. Refuse to do this, and the world will justly charge you with attacking the democratic spirit of Columbia. All of us want peace. All of us are fully aware that good government is a most efficient means of procuring

peace. Therefore, let us pray God, work hard, sacrifice ourselves and emulate each other in the high desire that "this government of the people, for the people, and by the people shall not perish from the earth!"

## II

## DIVORCE AND REVELATION

In our previous lecture we saw that the two civil enemies of the Republic are promoters of mobocracy and autocracy. In this and the three following lectures we shall consider its two domestic enemies, birth control and divorce. I call them domestic enemies because they strike at the State through the family, which is the foundation of the State. However, we shall not view birth control and divorce only in their bearing on the State. We shall ponder them also in their more comprehensive relationship to children, wives and husbands, Christianity and the human race.

First, divorce shall be considered with reference to the Revelation of God; next, in its relation to the Natural Law.

The Catholic Church enjoys the distinction of being the lone champion of perpetual monogamy against the evil of divorce. In the Greek Orthodox Church, in Protestant

churches, including the Anglican, in pagan religious groups and in the civil courts, the evil of divorce is sometimes allowed; but never in the Catholic Church.

Considerable misunderstanding of the Church's prohibition of divorce exists among non-Catholics and also among Catholics. Let us show, therefore, what is meant by the divorce which she prohibits; and to have a clear idea of it, it will be well to explain the sort of divorce and the seeming divorces which she does not forbid.

Nullification of marriage or a declaration of nullity is sometimes given in the Catholic Church, *i.e.,* when she declares as null and void a so-called marriage which was null and void from the beginning, on account of proven lack of intention to marry in one or other or both of the contracting parties, or on account of some diriment impediment which the Church, as custodian of the Sacrament of Matrimony, has a right to place, out of reverence for the Sacrament or to insure the safety of marriage. For example, suppose Boni Castellane proves his case against Anna Gould. Their marriage which, in the supposition, was invalid at the start because she lacked the intention of entering a per-

petual union with him, will be declared null. The Pope did not nullify the marriage between Napoleon and Josephine because the emperor could not prove, as he claimed, that he had no intention of marrying her. Moreover, a marriage which is proven to have been contracted, without dispensation, by a baptized Christian and a non-baptized person, before the new Canon Law of 1918, may be declared null and void; and the separated parties respectively may marry another woman or another man. We had a prominent example of this sort of nullification two years ago in Detroit. I say, "before the new Canon Law of 1918," because, since that legislation, such marriages are valid, even without dispensation, except where the Christian is also a Catholic. In the case of a Catholic, any attempted marriage with a non-baptized person, without a dispensation, is invalid. Nullification of marriage is allowed in the Catholic Church; but nullification is not the evil of divorce. For informed Catholics know the invalidating impediments of marriage and that a marriage without an intention is null and void. The banns of marriage are published in church three times before the nuptials in

order that possible impediments may be revealed. Moreover, a decent man would not think of living with a woman whom he respects, if he thought their marriage was invalid; and it is very difficult to have a marriage nullified.

Separation from bed and board for good reasons, *e. g.,* for adultery or cruelty, is allowed in the Catholic Church. But this is not the evil of divorce. For the bond of marriage remains and neither party may marry again while the other party is alive.

Divorce in the civil courts is sometimes allowed in the Catholic Church; for example, in order that the innocent party may get alimony, which is not given in case of mere separation without civil divorce. But this is not the evil of divorce, because the marriage bond remains intact despite the State, which has no power to dissolve marriage, whether considered as a Sacrament or as a natural contract.

Dissolution of *non-consummated* marriage is sometimes allowed in the Catholic Church; *e. g.,* if one of the parties becomes professed in a religious order, and in other cases where strong reasons for severing the bond exist; *e. g.,* an insuperable aversion of

one party for the other. But this is not the evil of divorce; for such cases are few and far between. Anyhow, practically the whole evil of divorce lies in wrecking consummated marriages.

Severing of the bond even in a marriage which has been consummated is allowed by the Catholic Church if, of two infidels (*i.e.,* unbaptized persons), one becomes a convert to Christianity and the other, remaining in infidelity, refuses to live with the convert in peace. This is called the "Pauline Privilege," not because it was granted by St. Paul, who had no such power, but because it was allowed by God and revealed through St. Paul. God, who, as the Author of the law of nature, can make exceptions to it, granted this concession because it would be unbecoming that a convert should carry the triple burden of Christianity, domestic unhappiness and temptation from the consort to lapse from the Faith. But the Pauline Privilege is not the evil of divorce, because it is inconceivable that God should concede a privilege through which harm would come to the natural law.

The evil of divorce is the so-called severance of consummated marriage between

Christians, or between a Christian and an infidel, or between infidels themselves, who remain in infidelity; and it is against this tremendous evil that the Catholic Church to her glory has always set her face and does so today.

I see in imagination a king, a woman, and a priest. The king is on his throne, surrounded by the charm of wealth and glory and by the paraphernalia of civil and military power. The woman, in black, pale, tearful, and desolate but heroic, keeps watch in the sombre stillness of her room. And the priest, old and white, powerless, without soldiers or courtiers, says of the woman to the king: "Thou shalt take thy lawful wife!" The king, pointing to a beautiful girl at his side, addresses the priest: "Give her to me, and I'll give you half (the spiritual half) of my kingdom. Refuse her to me, and you lose all." And the priest, remembering the ancient spiritual glory of that kingdom which he is about to lose, and in vision, seeing, no doubt, its future imperial magnificence, weeps at the loss, but says: "Let justice be done, though the heavens fall. A divine principle must be maintained. Divorce is not permitted even to

kings. Anne Boleyn, O Henry, you shall not have; Catherine of Aragon is your wife." One would imagine that a hundred chivalric swords would have flashed from their scabbards to defend the lady in those days when knighthood was in flower. But not so much as an angry look from knightly eyes nor an angry word from knightly lips flashed at Henry for Catherine. Only a grey old man, the great father on the Seven Hills of Rome, befriended a broken woman against a puissant monarch and subservient court. And he lost the kingdom. Yet all was not lost! Rather he gained the victory. For his defense of Catherine was symbolic to an observant and listening world of his protection of married womanhood in general, childhood and the home. Christianity and the Church made woman what she is; and this Pope, like all other popes before him and since his time, showed mankind that the Church will maintain woman in her place of honored wifehood at any cost, against the blighting ruin of divorce.

The Church learned to abominate divorce from Christ, who, by example and teaching, uncompromisingly defended the marriage bond.

It is common to consider God and Christ, His Son, as indifferent to the beauty and lovableness of nature, especially to the charm of human love. Yet whatever amiability exists under the sun is the handiwork of God and is loved by Him and His Son. Whenever, then, God and the Incarnate Word seem to take a stand against what naturally appeals to men, it is because men misuse the glorious things of creation, thereby quenching their glory and their capacity of giving happiness.

Men visualize Christ as the Son of God, the Man of Galilee, the greatest moral Teacher of history, the Comforter of the afflicted, the Saviour opening Heaven to us, the Great Soldier assaulting the ramparts of hell, the Man of Sorrows, the Builder of an everlasting Church, the Victim of sin on the Cross. But do they ever think of Him as the Bridegroom, the Spouse, the Father of a family and a child in the home? Yet, what may be called His domestic relationships compose the most lovable character He assumed.

Some nineteen hundred years ago, the Prince of Heaven looked with favor upon a beautiful thing of earth and lo! the sub-

limest bond of marriage conceivable was formed between the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, Eternal God, and a human body and soul. Did God love that Humanity with an unspeakable tenderness? Oh yes! And were the human mind and will of Christ dedicated, rapturously, always to the Second Person? Yes! And nothing could diminish the love of Christ in His Humanity for God; nor the love of God for Christ in His Humanity;—no, not the apparent hardness of God, who frowned on Christ, the vicarious sinner, in the Garden of Olives, and on the Cross; not the repulsiveness of Christ's assumed sinfulness, on account of which, as Isaias said, "there is no comeliness in Him." But that wedding bond will last throughout the Endless Honeymoon of Heaven.

Moreover, Christ is the Spouse of the Church. As Eve was drawn from Adam's side, so, as St. Augustine says, the Church sprang from the side of Christ, opened on the Cross by a spear. And as, when God led Eve to Adam, he was smitten with delight at her beauty, crying: "This now is bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called woman because she was taken

out of man; wherefore a man shall leave father and mother and cleave to his wife, and they shall be two in one flesh"; so when the Church leaped from Christ's side on Calvary, He could say: "This now is a thing of loveliness made out of my very Blood. Hence I shall cleave to her forever." And how tender and loyal He has been to her! And with what endearing words He speaks to her: "Thou art fair, O my beloved, and there is no stain in thee; thou art the lily among thorns, thy eyes are doves' eyes, thy lips are a scarlet lace, they are a drooping honey-comb, and thy speech is sweet." And she returns his love. Morning, noon, and night she converses with Him in her prayers, and educates His children and hers to know that august Father. In times of persecution her garments are dyed with her own blood for Him. She retires with her hermit children into the desert to be alone with Him; with her missionaries she travels to the ends of the earth to spread His name. She watches over homes so as to make them worthy of Him. And in the midst of the arduous work of rearing His and her children, her heart looks forward to the day when He shall come to take her

home; repeating to herself, frequently, the words He will speak to her then: "Arise, make haste, my love, my dove, my beautiful one, and come. For winter is now past; the rain is over and gone; the flowers have appeared in our land, the time of pruning is come, the voice of the turtle dove is heard in our land. Arise, my love, my beautiful one, and come." And at the end of the world, with this exquisite invitation in her ears, she will go ecstatically into the eternal mansion of her Spouse.

According to their different points of view, people conceive various ideas of the Church. In the judgment of some, she is a tyrannical autocrat, an unprincipled diplomat, a worldling, an incomparable political machine, a casuist, a theatrical promoter of ritualistic display. But she is none of these. She is the loving and beloved spouse of the Son of God.

Christ is also the Spouse of individual souls in the state of grace; and they know the rapture of His spiritual embrace. At times His consolations flood them and His intimate words delight them. And they speak to him, to God, with the close affectionateness of a lover to her beloved. The

souls of St. John of the Cross, St. Francis of Assisi, and St. Teresa felt thrills of ecstasy, in comparison with which the elation of lovers of earth is tepid and drab.

The first miracle of Christ's public life was worked for the benefit of a married couple at a wedding feast. He changed water into wine to add to their festivity and to symbolize by this exhilarating draught the joy of mutual love which He wished them to quaff all through life.

He raised the natural contract of marriage to the dignity of a Sacrament, making it a receptacle of His graces, from which husband and wife can draw help in their domestic needs.

And since marriage connotes family, He was not satisfied with being a Bridegroom, Spouse, and Father. He wished also to be a Son in the home. He who came from Heaven to save the world, spent only three years in His public apostolate. The first thirty years were lived by Him in a home, that men might understand from His example the preciousness of family and home.

"Be it ever so humble, there's no place like home." This is true because Christ made it so. There is not much said in Holy

Writ of Christ's domestic life; but that little is significant. "He went down to Nazareth and was subject to them." "And He grew in wisdom and age before God and men." He, the King of Heaven, was subject to Joseph and Mary. Children should be made to obey their parents because they are indebted to them for their lives, and their obedience is a necessary condition for the exercise of parental authority, which is from God. It is a fine thing for parents to be "chums" to their children, as they call it. But they should not be children of their children. There is no tyranny like the autocracy of a winsome child. Parents must solidify the gold of love and companionship with the alloy of authority; and they should not consider the use of the rod beneath them. If it was not unbecoming for the Christ Child to submit to His parents and serve them, it is not unseemly for your precious children to be subjected to the stern discipline of authority.

But, of course, love, joy and suffering must be the first parental qualities. These stand out in Mary. Can you form a faint image of her silent rapture when, having said to Gabriel: "Be it done unto me ac-

cording to thy word," she realized the Divine Child in her womb? Can you picture her effulgent face when, on the first Christmas Night, she knelt at the Crib, looking down at her rosy Babe; and when she showed Him to the three Kings from the East? When, having gone up from Nazareth to the Temple one spring morning, amid flowers, dews, sunlight and bird-songs, to offer her Child to God, her heart singing glad thoughts the while, she suddenly felt the song stifled in her breast, tears wetting her cheeks gone gray, her mouth opening with tragic numbness, and her limbs faltering under her at Simeon's prophetic words: "Behold this Child is set for the fall and for the resurrection of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be contradicted; and thy own soul a sword shall pierce"? Can you see the sword in her heart when, at the biddance of an Angel, she hurried with Joseph and the Babe through the dark night to Egypt to escape from Herod? When twelve years later she lost Him for three days and nights, and sought Him sorrowing through the streets of Jerusalem? When at the age of thirty He left her roof for good, on a journey whose goal was to be

Calvary? When she met Him bloody and disfigured on the Way of the Cross? When, as Scripture says simply, grandly, tragically, "there was standing at the Cross of Jesus, Mary His mother"? When she saw Him taken down, dead, from the Cross and placed in the tomb?

If you can visualize the Sorrowful Mother in those pathetic phases of her life, you will have some idea of the price she had to pay for loving;—a sort of price that has always been paid in this strange world, where tears and smiles, rapture and pangs always go together.

However, her life was not all sorrow. Think of the hours, days, and years she spent with Him in the paradise of their cottage at Nazareth! Think of the heaven in her dear heart when He flashed on her on the first Easter morn! Think of the everlasting joy that is hers now, with Him in Heaven, where He will never part from her again!

There was a mother! There was a Child! There was a home of heavenly authority, obedience, sweetness, affection, sorrow and joy! The Church projects that picture before the eyes of her children for their il-

lumination and inspiration. "See it," she says, "love it, be like it, do not allow its replica to be removed from your own lives. And execrate divorce, which would destroy it."

Yes, God loved human love so much, He loved human lovers so much, loved marriage, home, and children so much, that He played and still plays the parts of Lover, Spouse, Father, and Child, in order that, by His example, our love-life may be suffused and permeated by some of the beauty and amiability of His. Christ is our Model in everything, not least in the relationships of marital love.

Is it any wonder, then, that Christ felt a tremendous abhorrence for any influence that would destroy marriage and the home? Is it any wonder that, when He stood confronted by divorce, He spoke to the Pharisees these grave and wrathful words: "Whosoever shall put away his wife and marry another, committeth adultery; and if the wife put away her husband and marry another, she committeth adultery."

Here we run into a controversy between Catholics and non-Catholics. The former say that not even the commission of adultery

by one or both parties to a marriage justifies genuine divorce. The latter hold the opposite; and both appeal to Scripture for their proof. What, for the sake of convenience, I may call the "conservative" texts, are the following: St. Mark, chap. XVI, v. 18: "Everyone that putteth away his wife and marrieth another, committeth adultery; and he that marrieth her that is put away by her husband, committeth adultery." St. Paul, Romans, chap. VII, v. 3: "While her husband liveth she shall be called an adulteress if she be with another man." St. Paul, 1 Cor., chap. VII, v. 10–11: "To them that are married, not I, but the Lord commandeth that the wife depart not from her husband; and if she depart, that she remain unmarried or be reconciled to her husband. And let not the husband put away his wife." 1 Cor., chap. VII, v. 39–40: "A woman is bound by the law as long as her husband liveth; but if her husband die, she is at liberty."

The "progressive" texts are these two from St. Matthew: chap. XIX, v. 9: "And I say to you that whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and marry another, committeth adultery; and he

that shall marry her that is put away, committeth adultery." And chap. V, v. 32: "But I say to you that whosoever shall put away his wife, excepting for the cause of fornication, maketh her to commit adultery; and he that shall marry her that is put away, committeth adultery."

Before discussing these texts, two or three general principles must be stated: 1st. The infinitely wise and truthful God cannot contradict Himself, and, therefore, the words of the divinely inspired authors of Scripture cannot be mutually contradictory. It may be difficult to reconcile statements of the Evangelists on divorce; but mutually harmonious meanings, whatever they be, must be there. Secondly, the meaning of a text can be gleaned either from the text itself, taken alone, without reference to any other text, or by interpretation from another text. Thirdly, an obscure or ambiguous text must be interpreted in the light of a clear one on the same subject, not vice versa. As to the possibility of God's word being obscure, we should remember that the clarity of the divine thought can be dimmed by defective human expression just as a limpid

stream from the mountain top is muddied in its channel through the lowlands.

The first advantage I can claim is that there are five clear texts on the "conservative" side; only two obscure texts apparently on the "progressive" side. Moreover, the meaning of the "conservative" texts, *in themselves,* without a meaning read into them from the "progressive" texts, is a clear, unequivocal denunciation of all divorce, whether adultery has been committed by either of the parties, or not. On the contrary, the "progressive" texts are ambiguous. For (leaving out the teaching of the Church) they *can* refer either to divorce from the bond of marriage or only to separation from bed and board. The latter signification seems to be the right one. For a man who puts away his wife for some sin short of adultery, can truly be said to commit adultery, *i. e.,* vicariously; namely, by exposing her without sufficient reason, in her loneliness and isolation, to commit adultery with some other man. Indeed, in the first of St. Matthew's two texts, we have, not the words "committeth adultery,"[1] but "maketh her to commit adultery"[2]; the ref-

erence evidently being to separation from bed and board. Besides, as St. Matthew says, if another man marries a wife put aside by her husband, whether for adultery or not, he committeth adultery; which would not be so if the woman put aside by her husband were really divorced.

Now it is absurd to interpret the clear, unequivocal "conservative" texts by the ambiguous "progressive" texts. The inverse ought to be done. Therefore, Catholics have the New Testament behind them for their doctrine that the dissolution of consummated marriage, except in the case of the Pauline Privilege, is never allowed, not even for the sin of adultery. If in her uncompromising attitude towards divorce, the Catholic Church is cruel, she is cruel that she may be kind.

Christ's precept against absolute divorce was not a new law, but a resuscitation of God's original law, to which exceptions had been allowed by Him through Moses to the ancient Jews. For Christ said to the Pharisees: "Moses by reason of the hardness of your hearts permitted you to put away your wives; but it was not so from the beginning. He who made man from the beginning,

made them male and female. And He said: For this cause shall a man leave father and mother and shall cleave to his wife and they shall be two in one flesh. Therefore, now they are not two, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined, let no man put asunder!"

The Catholic conviction of Christ's unqualified prohibition of divorce is strengthened by the universal belief in perpetual monogamy prevalent in the Christian world from the time of Christ till the 16th century. If, therefore, non-Catholics assert that Catholics are anomalies and their monogamous marriage an anachronism in the world, Catholics can appeal to sixteen centuries of belief against the matrimonial "Liberals." When Henry VIII said to Thomas More: "Thomas, in refusing me spiritual obedience, you are singular; for the whole of England is against you," the great Chancellor retorted: "Your Majesty, all Europe and antiquity are on my side." Our retort to our opponents is like More's.

The facile assumption that the people of past ages were benighted and that we moderns possess supreme wisdom, is ridiculous. The time is past when informed people re-

fer to the Middle Ages as dark. In physical science, mechanical devices, industry and perhaps democratic government, we are superior to former times. Even superiority in these respects is not an unqualified blessing; for the physical sciences have resulted mostly in increasing only the comforts and luxuries of life; industry has begotten the Caliban of capitalistic monopoly; and democracy is swiftly degenerating into mobocracy. But in philosophy, culture, ethical science, and religious practice and belief, the European peoples of old were certainly not our inferiors.

If the position of the ancients regarding monogamy had been a belief in an easy and appealing thing, we might well deduct from the value of their belief. For "the wish is father to the thought;" when we wish a pleasant thing to be true, we too frequently think it is true. But if the doctrine which they universally subscribed to was hard to nature, the presumption (all other things being equal) is that it was true. For nothing but its truth can account for its universal acceptance by wise men. Now, perpetual monogamy is one of the hardest conditions of life; for man's animal instinct inclines

him towards promiscuous sexual unions, away from the straightening limitations of one husband and one wife. In like manner, if the modern arguments for divorce did not give loose rein to the great passion, we would not be suspicious of them. But we ought to doubt them, even at the start of our inquiry, because they appeal most alluringly to sex.

Moreover, the pragmatic argument is on our side. The doctrine and practice of perpetual monogamy has worked well. For to it, the civilization of Europe has been principally due. Christianity came upon a world hurrying to destruction through the internal corruption of the home; and it built up a new civilization upon the ruins of the old by purifying the home. It induced man to honor woman as maiden, wife and mother. It made the child the center of affection in the family. It beautified and consecrated the home. And even when it instituted celibacy for the priesthood and for men and women in religious life, its purpose was that these isolated lives should be devoted to families. Paradoxically, it separated them from marriage for the sake of marriage.

Divorce is breaking up the civilization of

Christianity before our very eyes. The home is going; with many, marriage has become a joke; and mutual hate of husband and wife is quite as common as mutual love. The most ridiculous reasons are given for divorce and sanctioned by the courts. Accordingly, multitudes in our country are leading a life of legalized adultery, and children in great numbers are paying a divided allegiance to separated fathers and mothers. The home is going and with it will go the State. For the State is built on families; if families disintegrate, the State will decay. If husband and wife are disloyal to each other, how can they be loyal to the State, which does and ought to make a less personal and intimate appeal to them than wife and husband? They may possibly retain a spurious sort of patriotism, wave flags, and chant national hymns with the herd, because it is the fashion to be patriotic. But in time of war and in peaceful times of stress, they will not and cannot consistently make sacrifices for their country. And the State is helping to draw on its own ruin by its courts of civil divorce. Any system of procedure which is against nature and religion will hurt the State. Marriage as a contract

naturally belongs to the family and therefore antecedes the State; marriage as a Sacrament pertains to religion, out beyond civil boundaries. Therefore, the granting of civil divorces is an unnatural and irreligious wrong.

Hence, we may fearfully look forward to a probable day, not far off, when this country, purchased with the blood of revolutionary martyrs and conserved through a century and a half by the wisdom of statesmen, will totter to ruins. Do not say: "How powerful we are! Nothing evil has happened to us through divorce." Rome was not built in a day.

America will not fall in a day. Allow her time for decay. External power will not save us. All this energy in America ought to be only a means to help the family. But is it being devoted to that end? No! Business is growing, but family life is perishing. And of what avail will wealth, culture, international standing, statesmen, and armies be to us, if the family around which all these values should center has decayed? They will be like fine clothes on a plague-smitten man. And why do reformers spend their best efforts against some comparatively

little evils like drinking liquor or excessive immigration, yet not raise a hand against those two most threatening enemies of society: birth control and divorce? There are far more divorces in the United States than in any other country, except pagan Japan. I am aware, of course, of the hypocrisy of a goodly number of critical Europeans, who have fewer divorces than we have, but more illegal adultery. While they criticise our divorce courts, they do not even take the trouble to be divorced. We at least have some sense of conventional respectability and legal sanction. Yet it is a fact that over there the family is preserved. By a happy blinding of Providence, children of unloving mothers and fathers do not as a rule perceive the tragic sordidness of the parents' lives and are happy under their care. But in America the family is being broken up by divorce.

We have grown so accustomed to the democratic principle of "Rule by Majority" that many of us have come to imagine that because divorce is admitted by the generality, it cannot be wrong. However, the rule of democratic majorities has place only in the limited sphere of civil government,

with regard to things which are morally indifferent; it is null and void with reference to the rights and obligations of the family and religion.

Others act as if they believed that God's Kingdom on earth is a sort of constitutional monarchy, in which the Almighty rules by consent of His creatures. Accordingly, if His subjects choose to consent to His prohibition of divorce, divorce is wrong; if not, it is right.

Certain optimists, who are opposed to divorce, condone it because they fondly fancy that it is only a form of growing pains. When the nation will have passed along the primrose path of youthful dalliance into maturity, they think normality will be restored to domestic relationship. I would that their rosy anticipation were well-founded. But this evil, like a mortal disease, may possibly not leave us, but kill us. Then they say: "There are more divorces now because women are rightly demanding more of their husbands than formerly." This may be so. No doubt, many women have a right to require more from their husbands than they got before; not, however, at the cost of divorce. The wife and mother

has rights; but these are secondary to those of the child. Now divorce is fundamentally inimical to the educational right of the child.

Finally, while unbroken wedlock seems less interesting than divorce, in reality it is more productive of happiness. Of an integral family, of a husband devoted to his wife and a wife living on the affection of her husband, of children who find home the main source of their pleasure, one does not read in the daily press and pornographic novels. Somehow, virtue and normality do not lend themselves to graphic portrayal. Divorce and illicit love affairs "sub rosa" make better writing material for reporters and charming but decadent authors. But in the world of fact, while sweet divorce produces bitter fruit, perpetual monogamy, hard enough as a rule, carries its own reward of peace and pleasure.

Yes, the doctrine against divorce, universally believed and practiced during the first sixteen hundred years of the Christian era, is pragmatic; it has worked to the advantage of the individual, the family, and the State.

But what can priests, who are celibates, know of marriage? Experience is not the

only path to knowledge. Common sense, observation, ethical reading, the literature of humanity, and Divine Revelation also are informing. Besides, priests have had domestic experience of a sort. They were born and raised at home like other men. Though they are not the heads of families, they were once children in families. And a child knows as much of the sacredness, sweetness, and fragile beauty of home as grown-ups. Moreover, being apart from family life, priests can judge of its rights and obligations with a calmer mind than interested husbands and wives. But the chief point is that the Church with its priesthood is Christ's representative on earth. Since, therefore, Christ, the Son of God, knows the family through and through, His Church, with His shared wisdom, can pronounce equitably upon the question of divorce. Anyone who would exclude the Church from these intimate domestic relationships and limit her influence to the outward activities of men, is clearly making her a mere figurehead, with an empty gesture and voice, thereby opening the way to the anarchy of individualism in the field of morality.

If therefore, you believe in the infallible

teaching of the Catholic Church in the field of faith and morals; if you are convinced that the words of Christ, the Son of God, cannot but be true; if you have an ear for the accumulated roars of billions of monogamous Christians of past ages, coming down to us through the channel of the centuries; if you truly wish to save our dear country from its most formidable enemy;—*abominate divorce!*

Should there be any men and women in this gathering who are meditating divorce or following a course of conduct which probably will lead to it; or, being as yet unmarried, are not firmly determined that marriage for them shall be perpetual, I advise them to stop and weigh the doctrine which has been preached tonight.

## III

## DIVORCE AND REASON

In our last lecture we proved that divorce is against the law of the Church, against the supernaturally revealed laws of Christ and of God, against the practice and belief of all Christians of the West up to the sixteenth century, and against the welfare of the country.

Now we shall establish that divorce is also against the law of nature, which can be known by reason, unaided by Revelation.

The reason why divorce is wrong, is because it is an offense against the rights of children and parents,—not because of the sexual pleasure it implies.

I am moved to insist on this on account of the view prevalent among some, especially among women, that sexual pleasure is humiliating, disgraceful, and wrong in itself. That doctrine was taught by the Manicheans of old and by Luther in the sixteenth cen-

tury. According to Luther, human nature was utterly corrupted by original sin and liberty was lost. Hence, he taught that everything natural we do is ugly and depraved. But since we are not free any more, our natural depravity is not sinful; for sin is impossible without freedom. Moreover, if we have faith in the mercy of God, He will cover the ugliness of fallen nature with the garment of the pure and saving merits of Jesus Christ. This is the meaning of Luther's fundamental doctrine, "Salvation by faith, without good works."

Two evil rules of conduct follow from his doctrine, when it is accepted by men: 1st, sexual pleasure under all conditions is disgraceful and low; 2nd, nevertheless, even the unmarried may indulge in it as much as they like, without committing sin.

A goodly number of women with an anemic and squeamish sense of decency, who think that sexual congress is a physical evil which is justified only by the positive and explicit desire for children (and who in their ultra-delicacy would quarrel with the Deity for having established so loathsome a means of acquiring the precious things) refuse to their husbands reasonable requests,

made in the name of affection and pleasure, thereby forfeiting their love and occasioning them to seek satisfaction elsewhere, beyond the sphere of the legitimate.

The true doctrine of the Fall is that human nature in itself was not hurt by original sin. Hence, sexual indulgence, so long as it does not involve a wrong to anyone, is honorable and right; secondly, free will was not destroyed by the Fall. Therefore, men are free to control the impulse of sex. What happened was, that a special preternatural gift, called integrity, whereby our first parents easily governed their passions, was forfeited by them and not restored to us by Christ.

The effect of that forfeiture has been: 1st, that our passions get the start on us, so to speak, spring into action before we are aware of it. Such spontaneity of passion is not sinful because there can be no sin when our intellect is not yet cognizant of what is happening in our lower nature, and when our free will has not yet had time and opportunity to assert itself, either resisting or consenting to the feeling;—though, of course, sin may already have been committed by deliberately placing ourselves with-

out sufficient reason in the occasion of sexual excitement; 2nd, even when our intellect and free will awake to the situation and come into play, it is difficult to resist passion; and 3rd, on that account many knowingly and freely commit sin in thought, desire or act, with those over whom they have no marital rights.

Legitimate sexual indulgence is humiliating in the limited sense in which all bodily activities are humiliating; for matter is humbler than spirit. Even a most beautiful face can be said to be humiliating, on account of the odious bodily humors which exude from it. But one who objects to such humiliation, quarrels with nature herself and with nature's God, who made us what we are.

Sexuality is humiliating also in this sense that, since the Fall, our passions act spontaneously, taking us by surprise. Even the saints were subject to the initial thrusts of sexuality. Now, any movement not wholly under the control of the intellect and the will can be called humiliating.

Of course, even legitimate sexuality is humiliating when indulged in without moderation as to frequency and manner; just as

piggish eating and drinking are humiliating.

Moreover, while we admit that legitimate sexual indulgence is good, we hold that complete chastity (even without religious motives) is better. This is difficult to explain. But the universal testimony of mankind bears witness to the superior excellence of chastity. And it is recognized by all that a maiden, for example, in marrying, loses something more precious than the sexual pleasure which comes to her in return;—a loss and sacrifice which are justified only by two blessings, which are superior to (non-religious) chastity; namely, the love of her husband and the birth of children.

But with these reservations, sexual pleasure is not humiliating and odious. Hence, the sin of divorce does not consist precisely in sexuality, but in an infringement of rights,—the right of the original husband or wife, and the right of the children of the divorcees.

The unit of society is not the individual man or woman, but the married pair and their offspring,—the family.

In view of the bodily structure of man and woman, it is evident that they are half-

units, which are intended by nature to complement each other, forming a composite unit, called the head of the family. Also their diverse incomplete characteristics of heart and mind point to the same design of nature. For generally woman is tender, man is strong; she is for the home, he for the outside.

It is also evident that their union is destined by nature to result in the procreation and raising of children. Unlike the young beast, the human child cannot take care of itself. Its physical, mental, and moral development depends on its parents, consumes about twenty years, and demands the cooperation of father and mother living together. Now the welfare of the child is more important than that of the parents. For the parents die; the child lives on;—as a child, as a husband or wife, as a father or mother, as a new child, thus on and on till the end of time. In other words, the primary end of marriage is the generation and education of children.

The secondary end of marriage is the mutual love, respect, and support of husband and wife. It is dependent on the primary end and is to be pursued only in

connection with and dependently on the primary. For just as, according to the law of nature, men eat and drink for nutrition, not for appetite; so Nature does not intend that the procreation and education of children should be secondary to the mutual affection of husband and wife, but rather that their affection should redound to the advantage of the children. Lovers think of affection first; possibly not of children at all. But Nature, inexorably intent on the increase and preservation of the human race, uses their affection as a means to that end. However, children do tighten the marital bond.

The third end of marriage, subsidiary to the other two, is the legitimate moderate enjoyment of sexual pleasure. Man, unlike most beasts, is ready for sexual pleasure at almost any time. Sexual pleasure, though not bad in itself, should not engross one's life. Monogamous marriage moderates concupiscence. The appetite for one woman or one man, no matter how charming she or he may be, abates, as it ought to, with time. But since the great passion is aroused by new objects of desire, divorce, multiplying partners in pleasure, would keep the sex-

ual instinct acutely and unhealthily alive.

Before proving that divorce is against the natural law, it is necessary to give a definition and state a principle. A thing is said to be absolutely wrong when absolutely, without qualification, it prevents one from attaining a necessary end. A thing is said to be morally wrong, if it makes the attainment of a necessary end so *difficult* that the majority of a community (though they *can*) will not perfectly attain it.

Secondly, if a thing is harmful to the majority of a community, the head of the community may, does, and must forbid it, not only to the majority, but to all. This is a common dictum of civil law. For example, carrying concealed weapons, because it is dangerous for most men to carry them, is forbidden to the whole community; though many could carry them without being tempted to misuse. Of course, the executive, on application from subjects, may make exceptions to the law in exceptional circumstances. But until the exception is made, the law is presumed to oblige all. If this principle were not acted upon, laws would be stultified. For most men are so afflicted with blindness and self-love that

each of them would flatter himself that the circumstances of his individual life are exceptional, that an exception to the law in his particular case is to be presumed, that the law does not oblige him. Thus the obligation of the law in each special instance would have to be proved:—an impossible task. But common sense teaches that the law should be presumed, not proved; whereas the exception to the law ought not to be presumed, but proved. We propose to show that while divorce would not necessarily prevent all men from attaining the threefold end of marriage in some sort of way, it would render the attainment of that end in its perfection a very difficult task for most men, and therefore, the Author of human nature has forbidden divorce to all.

That a divorce procured within the first twenty years of married life is wrong, is clear from the long time required for educating a child. This is the principal point against divorce; because most divorces are gotten during that period. That divorce is wrong even after the first twenty years of married life is almost as evident. For since the average age of the newly married couple is twenty years for the woman and twenty-

five for the man, she will be forty, he forty-five, when they will have completed the education of their first child. If they have the normal number of children (let us keep it down to four), two years apart, the mother will be over forty-five and the father over fifty years old when the last child is thoroughly trained. At that age, most mothers are physically incapable of begetting more children; and both parents from then on will not possess the energy to educate a new family. Hence, a divorce and new marriage even at that late age is not allowed; for the God of nature instituted marriage primarily for the begetting and education of offspring. A single man and a single woman may marry at that late age because, though it is probable, it is not certain that either of them is sterile. Also not having carried the burden of rearing a family, maybe they could do so now. But their case is exceptional, and an exception but proves the rule.

Divorce is also opposed to the secondary end of marriage;—affection and mutual support of husband and wife.

Personal observation, history, and literature evince the fact that all over the world and in all times, lovers long to give them-

selves to each other in marriage forever. In the idea of perpetuity lies the sublimity and sweetness of their love. They would think it an insult for either to propose to the other a time-limit of love. And the marriage service is beautiful chiefly because it contains words expressing everlasting devotion and loyalty. Yes, unto death and beyond death will their love last; so they intend. But a wish so universal as this can be due only to nature. Hence the purpose of nature and nature's God must be that husband and wife shall love and support each other till death. Right-minded people think the same. Nothing is more abhorrent to their sense of decency than the picture of a man and a woman who had felt the thrill and exhilaration of their first vows, who had enjoyed the heaven of their honeymoon, who had had children, loved them and been loved by them, who had been knit together more and more closely by mutual suffering through the years, and been identified in self-sacrifice for the sake of their children until the years of their majority, rising, in the autumn of their years, when the fires of youth have been succeeded by the more lovable glow of maturity, bidding adieu to

each other with unfeeling detachment of heart and fleeing to new nuptials. The picture is unbearable. Nature could not permit a thing like that.

Especially if the woman wished to continue in love, the departure of her husband and his marriage to another woman would break her heart. She could not even enjoy the compensating consolation of being the innocent victim of injustice; for if divorce were permissible, he would be doing right. Moreover, while a man at that age quite generally retains physical attractiveness, a woman, on account of her more delicate constitution and the hardship of child-bearing, as a rule, does not. Like a soldier, from the field of death, she bears from her bed of birth noble wounds—the marks of maternity. Yes, they are noble wounds, but they deface! A new marriage for her would be difficult; and what means would she have of supporting her declining years? Her husband would not leave her money for her needs. Most husbands have not enough money to divide. Anyhow, he would be allowed and obliged to keep what he has for his new wife.

I seem to hear one say: Perpetual mar-

riage is all right for those who love; but suppose the case of mutual hate! If the bond of marriage cannot be severed and if husband and wife are aware of the impossibility, they will be very careful to prevent their differences and quarrels from developing into hate. Moreover, to love is normal; to hate is abnormal; and the law of marriage must be built on the normal, not on the abnormal and exceptional. Besides they *can* love; not necessarily in their feelings, which are not wholly under their control, but in their *will; i. e.,* they can cleave to each other, wish each other well, be considerate towards each other's faults, and find some satisfaction in each other's company, because they are *free.* They *can* love each other. And they *ought* to, because they have vowed to. Besides Nature expects them to. Also, it is not right to penalize good will and put a premium on shortcomings; to hold ideal consorts to the bond, while their opposites enjoy the privilege of divorce. If it be said that loving husbands and wives do not want divorce, I answer that the best of married lovers experience at times the zero point of affection, when they would be glad to dissolve the bond of marriage if they could.

But since the bond must remain intact, they live on together and love each other more after their difference than they did before it.

Thirdly, divorce would not moderate concupiscence. For if partners in marriage could marry again, the restraining influence of perpetual monogamy on concupiscence would not be felt. Husband and wife would seek new lovers betimes, against the day of liberation ahead, and most probably would sin sexually outside of marriage on account of the long wait required for the new nuptials. And with the passion of love distracting them from thoughts of home, serious and prolonged training of their children would be impossible.

It is clear, then, that divorce makes it very difficult for the generality of men to attain to the threefold end of marriage in its perfection. Therefore God rightfully prohibits divorce to all. Exceptions to the law can be made, not indeed by those under the law, but by God, the Author of the law. But such exceptions, if made, must be manifested to man either through Revelation or reason. If divorce were *absolutely* wrong, even God could not permit an exception to

the law of perpetual monogamy, without stultifying Himself. For if He did, He would, at one and the same time, wish the end of marriage, and, by permitting divorce, would not wish it. But divorce is only *morally* wrong. Hence, God can allow exceptions to the law for some higher purpose, such as, for example, the propagation of the tribe of Abraham, provided He supplies a special aid to counteract the evil effects of divorce. As a matter of fact, in the Old Testament God, for good reasons, permitted and revealed exceptions to the law; in the New Testament He revealed the Pauline Privilege. But reason cannot demonstrate that any other exception ought to be made.

The reasons for divorce in the courts are generally infidelity, desertion, cruelty, non-support, and incompatibility of temper. Conceivably divorce for such reasons would be beneficial to some; but if it were allowed to the few, it would hurt the many. For example, if parties to a marriage could obtain a divorce for adultery, desertion, non-support, and incompatibility, multitudes of wives and husbands would commit these sins so as to be free. If divorce were permitted

for physical sterility, clever schemers would devise some means to destroy fertility. But suppose some fine girl is married to a scoundrel! Young girls should not marry till they arrive at the age of discretion, and then be circumspect in their choice. If their selection proves unfortunate, they must be good sports and play the game. Divorce for them individually would probably be felicitous. But it would hurt the race. For many husbands would deliberately become scoundrels so as to be free, and many wives would trump up charges of viciousness against their husbands. Besides, a scoundrel can be reformed and, as a last resort, relief can be sought by separation from bed and board.

But someone says: "It is easy for priests to lay down the law against divorce; difficult for us to obey it." It is not priests who lay down the law, but Christ, God and Nature. Besides, the criterion of true value is not whether a thing is easy or difficult, but whether it is right or wrong. Most right things are difficult. It is difficult even to be decent. Moreover, the hardship of perpetual monogamy is nothing in comparison with the hard and bitter demoralization

which divorce, if it were legitimate, would cause to the family, the State and the race. The Church, then, though apparently harsh, is merciful and kind in her uncompromising prohibition of divorce.

Another says: "A married man and woman are masters of their own mutual contract. They made it; therefore, they can unmake it." No, they cannot dissolve the contract of marriage, because unmaking that particular contract infringes on the rights of the children of the family to an education in the home, on the natural right and obligation to keep concupiscence within the moderate bounds of one consort and one home.

A third objector may ask: "Why make any marriage contract at all? My love, without the bond of a promise, is a guarantee of permanent fidelity; and if my love should cease, why should I be bound?" Like a flower with relation to its root, a verbal contract is the natural external expression of inward love. Moreover, the outward words react on love, solidifying and increasing it. The promise makes assurance doubly sure to your love, who doesn't doubt your love, yet is glad to have the

spoken pledge of it. It crystallizes love into a dear and ever-to-be-remembered sentence. Besides, the State requires for marriage a spoken promise; so does the Church; for marriage is a Sacrament, and a Sacrament is defined as an outward sign of inward grace. Should your love fail, yet, for the sake of the children, you ought to be held by the bond of marriage.

Then we hear this cry: "But those passions! Why did God give them to us if we may not follow their lead? Why should I love another man and yet be forbidden to flee to him?" We may follow our passions within bounds; or rather they are forces which we must drive like horses on a right road. True, the passions are facts of life; but so, also, are rights and obligations; *e.g.,* the right of your lover's consort to him or her; the right of your children to your and your husband's home; your obligation to respect those rights. Every force in the world is under the domination of law, and kept within bounds—the river between its banks, the ocean circled by its shores, the electric current on its wire, an automobile under the hand of its chauffeur. Red ruin would result if the forces of wind, water,

heat, and electricity rushed unrestrained. The force of passion is fiercer than any of these. And why did you give your lover your heart? You were not forced to. You could have withheld it. If you say you were not free in this, then you are not free in anything. Admit that much; and lo, all responsibility ceases; you are a dancing puppet pulled by the strings of fate; there is no merit or demerit; all the dignity of life disappears.

Others say: "I have lost my love for my husband because he is not lovable any more." Perhaps his amiability has gone; or perhaps you have nagged him into his present condition. Or perhaps he is nobly lovable, while you are too superficial to appreciate anything but surface graces. Quite frequently, grand traits are linked with plain manners; and it is a truism that a complete scoundrel is, as often as not, a finished gentleman. Women, despite their keen intuition for genuine values, are often strangely stupid in their estimates of men. Possibly you have no eyes for your husband's amiability, because another's lovableness has intervened and lawlessly monopolized your heart and mind; or your

ideal of love may be a romantic sentimentality, which is only the approach to love. No person, especially no man, can always maintain feeling at white heat. Such heavenly love is not for earth. In this world, the prosaic fidelities and plain sacrifices of love must alternate with the raptures of love, or again (a common fault with women) you may possibly think that love is the only thing in life. Love is the chief, but not the only thing. A husband knows that there are other values that must be attended to; *e.g.,* business, education, the professions, politics, diplomacy. Life cannot be all love. It would not be well if it were. If it were, life's other nobilities would not have an opportunity for exercise. Many a wife is jealous even of her husband's business and would divorce him from success. Thereby she would kill the goose that laid the golden eggs; would destroy his initiative, ambition, and activity, which were the motives of her admiration and love. Every woman loves a man who triumphs, and despises one who fails through his own fault or inefficiency. A loving wife imagines that she would like to have her husband

with her alone, always; but she wouldn't! Life is largely made up of partings. Separation makes reunion a doubly dear thing; without it, union would become monotonous. It is clear, then, that a wife's selfishness would not result in her personal happiness. What is worse, it would alienate the man. For observation shows that if a woman is not satisfied with a part of a man, but wants the whole of him, she loses all. Of course, a husband may go to the other extreme, and make his external pursuits primary. He may be in love with his vocation and not with his wife; dream of success and forget her; build up a business in place of a home; neglect the courtesies, minute attentions, intimate services, and exquisite affections which beguile a woman into adoration of a man. Accordingly, when, after many years of golden success outside, he would enjoy his home, his wife and children, he may discover too late that his house is not a home, his wife not a love mate, he, the husband is only a legal provider, his offspring are not affectionate children, but fellow-boarders in a sort of domestic hotel. The first duty is home, the first love is wife and children. A

wife has a right to require that much, which is a great deal, but she has no right to monopolize.

Again, suppose a wife has lost her amiability! Cannot her husband love her still for the sake of what *she once was?* Can the golden days when she was a divinity to him ever quite pass out of his memory? Cannot he love her in and through her child, who is her other self? Cannot he be merciful to her on account of his own great need of mercy for perhaps greater faults? And, without denying that she has faults, cannot he refrain from thinking of them? The charity of forgetfulness, like a cloak, covereth a multitude of sins. Cannot he stop exaggerating her faults and minimizing his own?

But the principal point against the foregoing plausible argument is this: All those pleas for divorce are based on the false assumption that the welfare of the parents takes precedence over that of the child; and are urged by people under the influence of passion, personal preferences, and strong animosities.

A mother may say that she seeks divorce not for herself, but for her child, who is be-

ing harmed by his father's example. Might I ask: "Is she quite sure that she does not exaggerate?" If so, the child may still be safe. By a happy blinding of Providence children often do not see their parents' faults. But if the child's eyes are open, the mother's virtue, especially her patience, will more than counteract the father's shortcomings. However, in case conditions become intolerable, recourse may be had to separation from bed and board. A new father by a new marriage most likely would not feel a paternal interest in the child. But even if he were the best of adopting fathers, still divorce would not be allowed, because it would be an opening wedge to many other divorces. This child must be suffered to endure the unpleasantness of his unhappy home lest many other homes be destroyed through the example of his deliverance.

Finally, may not the State grant divorce, —the State which has a right even over human life; the right to execute a murderer? There is this great difference between these two exercises of power:— while the universal consent of mankind has favored the execution of a murderer because men think the death sentence would benefit

civilization; multitudes of people, especially the Catholic Church, and many civil courts, are against divorce because to their mind it is a menace to society. The courts which grant divorce are not agreed on the motives that justify it. What, therefore, can be said of the death penalty, cannot be said of divorce; *i. e.,* God makes an exception to the law of nature regarding a personal individual right.

These, it seems to me, are wholesome reflections, which, with God's grace, I hope, will deter some husbands and wives from wanting a divorce on the plea that their love is dead.

Oh! my dear Brethren, shun the monster of divorce! For the sake of the natural law, for the sake of the Divine Legislator, for the sake of Christ, the Hater of divorce, for the sake of the Church, the protectress of monogamy, for the sake of your children, your wife or husband, for the sake of your personal happiness and for the sake of your country, so gravely threatened by this moral disease,—shun divorce! And in order that you may conceive and develop in your heart a holy hatred of the odious thing, often repeat to yourself your first vows: "I take

thee for my lawful wife (or husband), to have and to hold, from this day forward, for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health, until death do us part."[2]

## IV

## BIRTH CONTROL; ITS FUTILITY

Brethren, I apologize for speaking of birth control. For, though of late it has become quite respectable, buttressed by plausible arguments, defended by some near-intellectuals, practiced by large numbers of the exclusive, gilt-edged set, given a hearing by newspapers and magazines, and weighed judicially by many who before shunned the very thought of it; nevertheless birth control is nothing more than a dirty piece of lust, stark brutishness, what Carlyle would call pig-philosophy, which disrobes men and women of the spiritual atmosphere in which religion, poetry, and chivalry have arrayed them and shows them forth as mere animals, emphasizing with the insistence of pornographic degeneracy the unveiled passion of sex.

Such things, says St. Paul, should not even be mentioned among Christians. I would that birth controllers had not

dragged their moist and slimy Caliban from the fetid caverns of their minds into the light of day, for the inspection of decent people. Why do not degenerates practice their abominations in secret and be satisfied? But no, like dope-fiends, they feel the itch of an unholy apostolate and must infect the multitude with their unnatural debauchery. And so it becomes a man (as it would have become St. Paul), to speak of them, in a modest but plain way, so as to preserve the uninitiated from lechery.

And I shall not express myself calmly, with measured and chill moderation of style. I shall submit, if necessary, to the imputation of being a zealot; for I know I am not such. I may be zealous. But zeal is not fanaticism; true sentiment is not sentimentality; genuine passion is not emotionalism. There are two extremes possible in a discussion, one as bad as the other:—giving way to feeling without reason, and checking feeling when there is reason for it. The style of today in newspapers and magazines is the manner of a rational appeal without heart, even on subjects which ought to make the heart blaze. Every truth is either beautiful or ugly, good or bad; and a man frus-

trates legitimate passion if he remains equable, with detached passivity, in the presence of beauty or ugliness, goodness or badness, right or wrong. To lose temper is poor taste; but to have temper and to show it at times is an excellent thing. The difference between justifiable anger and cold impassiveness is like the contrast between Damascus steel and cast iron. Should I send in a quiet alarm when my house is afire? Or be reasonable (as they call it) with a man who insults my mother? Or argue coolly with a beast to dissuade him from striking my sister? No! Well then, neither shall I measure my words too nicely in directing a blow at a *thing* which would destroy children, mothers, homes, nations, nay, the whole race.

I am aware that in taking this attitude towards birth control, I shall be regarded by many as dreadfully *passé*. They will tell me that the thing has been welcomed by the "respectable." But I have long since been disillusioned as to the "respectable." The luckless demi-mondaine is a haloed saint in comparison with many an exquisitely scented flower in the garden of respectability. King Lear, preternaturally keen with

the fever of madness, spoke a scorching word about that sort: "Down from the waist they are centaurs, though women all, above; but to the girdle do the gods inherit, below is all the fiend's."

They will say too: "See the autocratic violence of the Catholic Church. That's her way always; denouncing and cowing her children into obedience, without argument." Yes, our chief argument against birth control is the teaching of the Church. But it should be remembered that our confidence in her wisdom is based on irrefutable evidence in favor of her infallible magisterium over faith and morals. The only difference between us and the birth controllers is that we have one authentic Pope, whereas each one of them is a self-constituted pope, with all the yawning possibilities of error incident to private, isolated, interested judgment, exercised in a difficult field of inquiry. And here I may say for Catholics, that the Church's attitude towards birth control is not one of mere policy, which can change with changing times, according to varying circumstances and shifting requirements. Rather it is one of fundamental and perpetual opposition, founded on the constant

demands of the fixed natural law. But I shall give more than the authority of the Church. I shall meet the birth controllers on their own ground of reasoned inquiry and show that the law of nature, not less than the law of the State, the law of the Church and the law of God, is against them. The monopoly of intelligence is not with them, as they so often say. We have authority plus intelligence.

In a *Free Press* editorial of last November it was said with reference to me: "The failure to place sufficient emphasis on this point is due in considerable part to the circumstance that the question of birth control has not been handled generally enough by sensible, practical people, but it has been left too largely to the tender mercies of extremists both among the pros and cons." In these words, I read, without seeing too much, that I am not sensible and practical, but extreme.

Birth control is a moral as well as a biological and medical matter. I am competent to judge of its morality. I consulted a doctor of biology at the University of Detroit about its biology, and read books of a competent physician on its medical side.

I am an extremist in this matter because I have the truth, which is always extreme. Truth is as far from error as light is from darkness. The editorial writer seems to flatter himself that he occupies the golden middle ground, whereas in reality he is a straddler, fusing in his mind the white and black of truth and error, respectively, into a sickly gray of compromise.

Since I have mentioned authority, I cannot refrain from referring to the hostile and insulting views of the birth controllers regarding the State. These very people, who are insistent on others, especially foreigners, being patriotic, are themselves a crying example of disloyalty to the government. For one who decries laws of the State attacks the State. They refer with contempt to the medieval reactionary civil inhibitions of birth control propaganda through the mails. They appeal to liberty of speech. But the State has a right to defend itself by legislation against moral corruption, against murder, theft, public indecency, Socialism, Bolshevism and birth control. Also the State has a right to decide within limits which things are deleterious to the moral well-being of its citizens. Citizens may

have contrary opinions and retain them; but they must bear the consequences of publicly opposing the State. Birth controllers cannot assume the rôle of martyrs, for the State does not interfere with birth control in their own families. It only prevents them from corrupting others through the mails.

There are several ways of practicing birth control: through abortion, continence, taking advantage of the monthly period of comparative sterility, vasectomy or sex mutilation, and by the use of physical or chemical means to prevent conception after sexual congress. It is of the last-named that we speak here. Birth control is a misnomer: the thing should be called birth-frustration, or better still, contraception.

Malthus, an English minister of religion, published his essay on "The Principle of Population" in 1798. The essay was directed against the Socialists Condorcet and Godwin, who held that poverty and misery were due to human institutions and for this reason could be remedied by Socialism. Malthus, on the contrary, taught that poverty and misery are due to over-population. For whereas, in his opinion, population increases in geometric proportion, 1, 2, 4, 8,

16, 32, etc., the supplies of life grow only in arithmethical proportion, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc. Hence in due time the supplies of the earth will be inadequate for the needs of men. Accordingly, he says, people should not marry or marry late and then practice much self-restraint. Malthus was opposed to artificial birth control.

The Neo-Malthusians or birth controllers hold that the only means of checking population is artificial birth control. As a matter of historical fact, birth control has been identified with atheism. Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant, two atheists, gave birth control its first noticeable impulse in 1876. They were arrested for their propaganda. Before their time, Doctor Drisdale, a man of the same stamp, wrote a book on the subject. Doctor Dunlop, himself a birth controller, admits the identification of birth control with atheism. Havelock Ellis, Dr. Dawson, the present King of England's physician, and in this country, Mrs. Sanger, are other names identified with the movement. H. G. Wells has written an introduction to Mrs. Sanger's latest book. The lady enumerates Bernard Shaw among birth controllers. The fact is, Bernard Shaw

said he was in favor of birth control of a kind—birth control through self-control. He added that he was opposed to any system which implied the impossibility of sexual abstention. Birth controllers are trying to appropriate the cloak of religion for their nefarious enterprise. But their efforts have been in vain. The Council of Anglican Bishops held at Lambeth a few years past, condemned the thing. Dean Inge does not represent the Anglican Church. Charles Bradlaugh's advocacy of birth control in 1876 was denounced from every Protestant pulpit in England. The Jewish rabbis as a body, I believe, are against the artificial limitation of families; and, of course, there is no hope for the Neo-Malthusians in the attitude of the Catholic Church.

Some individual Catholics no doubt indulge in birth control to some extent. But they know they are doing wrong. They either confess the sin and try to amend or remain obstinate in their wickedness, whereby they lose membership in the Church. The case of France is often quoted against us. But Frenchmen have fallen away from the Church in great numbers during the last century; and statistics

show that where Catholicity is a living force in France, there is no birth control. Also statistics prove that in those localities of England and America where Catholics are numerous, the birth rate is high and, vice versa, for the other places. Indeed, Professor Myrick Booth, a Protestant scientific student of the matter, and many other men of the same sort, praise the Catholic Church for her successful stand against birth control and warn Protestants that by the force of unimpeded fecundity, in due time Catholics will supplant them everywhere, unless they avoid the Neo-Malthusian contamination.

Birth controllers hold that poverty, disease, a high death-rate, famine, war, and vice are wide-spread in the world; that these harrowing conditions must be removed, and since they are caused by over-population, over-population must be reduced, and the only way of doing that is their system of birth control.

Against them I hold that artificial birth control, first, is not necessary for their purpose; secondly, is not sufficient for it; thirdly, is evil in itself; and fourthly, is evil on account of its effects. The last two

points will be developed in my next lecture; the first two will engage us to-day.

The general proposition: "Birth control is not necessary for their purpose" may be conveniently divided into these four assertions: 1st, birth control is not necessary to reduce excessive population. Secondly, the reduction of excessive population is not necessary for the abolition of poverty and misery. Thirdly, the removal of poverty and misery is not necessary for virtue and morality. Fourthly, Neo-Malthusian virtue and morality are, in reality, forms of vice.

Birth control is not a necessary means towards the reduction of excessive population because population is not now, and is not likely ever to become, excessive; also if this were the case, birth control would not be necessary to reduce it. There are other means.

Some sixty per cent of the land of the United States is not yet under cultivation. There are vast tracts of idle country in Canada, Australia, South America, and Africa. Congestion exists in large cities, but men, not God or Nature, are responsible for that. The Malthusian theory of over-population

and lack of supplies is now discredited among most philosophers. The world would have been over-populated centuries ago if the contentions of Malthus were true; especially if the race of men were as old as evolutionists would have it. Malthus prophesied that in 1898, England and Wales would be burdened with 112,000,000 people. As a matter of fact, the number of men and women in those countries at that time was only 32,000,000; and it is a mere assumption to say that this discrepancy in numbers has been due to birth control, which made no noticeable gains until 1876. In the United States, despite the vast immigration of prolific races, we fall short by 13,000,000 of the number of people Malthus said we would have.

As to food, Mr. Wanders in *America* calculates that even without new, possible methods of cultivation, the world could support 200,000,000,000 men and women, about 120 times its present number. The United States could sustain 600,000,000; and as we are only some 125,000,000 at present, we need not fear starvation yet awhile.

But even if population were excessive either in reality or in prospect, birth control

would not be necessary to reduce it; there are other means: continence, limitation of sexual congress to monthly periods of comparative sterility, increased prosperity, a high death-rate and plague, famine and war.

Birth controllers never even mention continence as a means. Continence is difficult. But its hardship is reduced if husbands and wives avoid excessive mutual proximity, devote themselves to engrossing occupations, and pray. Moreover, continence is not nearly as hard to endure as the distresses which, birth controllers say, are consequent upon excessive population. Besides, the neurasthenia which they attribute to continence is a lesser evil than the nerve-racking effects of the use of contraceptives. Also, neurasthenia can be avoided by keeping a clean mind. For, it is not the result of continence, but is due, sometimes, to unchaste desires, blocked from their gratification in the flesh.

Limitation of intercourse to monthly periods of comparative sterility, though not an infallible, is a quite probable means of avoiding conception. Because it is a less perfect way of acting, it is not to be commended as a rule of conduct. But if condi-

tions make the bearing and rearing of many children an extraordinary hardship, it is allowed.

There is strong evidence from experimental observation that an increase in prosperity, comfort, and intellectuality in a community of men and women (without birth control and the debilitating influence of sinful luxury) lessens their fertility. If, therefore, a population needs reducing, improve the living conditions of the people.

A high death-rate lessens population. This seems a cruel thing to say. But preventing babies from coming into life is as cruel as letting men and women and children go out of life. In fact, it is more cruel. The latter only have their life curtailed; the former are utterly deprived of it. And it is better to have lived a while and died, even with the accompaniment of suffering, than not to have lived at all.

Then there are the great counteractants to excessive population, supplied by nature and man:—famines, plagues, and war. History proves that these agencies have always prevented excessive population on the earth. Unless Neo-Malthusians can establish that no more wars, plagues, and famines, earth-

quakes, storms, and accidents will occur, they cannot propose birth control as a necessary corrective for immoderate fertility. Possibly in the next war, gases will poison whole cities instantaneously. In the Middle Ages, the Black Plague destroyed one-fourth of Europe's inhabitants; and though medical science has done much to reduce sickness, we in our day have encountered a deadly plague with the harmless name of "Flu." Cancer seems to defy surgical skill. Devasting pneumonia and tuberculosis give no signs of abating. Possibly worse diseases are in store for us. If so, over-population (if it exists) will have been a blessing.

In the second place, reduction of population is not needed to ameliorate the acute economic condition of the world. The reason is simple and profound: over-population does not cause misery. The reverse is true: misery causes over-population. Do not, therefore, reduce population to lessen misery, but lessen misery to reduce population, —if such reduction is desirable.

Mr. Thomas Doubleday came to the above conclusion after many experiments; and Mr. Pell, who resurrected Doubleday's theory,

and Dr. Halliday G. Sutherland, the most redoubtable opponent of birth control in England today, are also of his opinion. According to the doctrine of these learned men, when the race is in danger of diminution or extinction through hardship and poverty, Nature automatically meets the danger by greater fertility. Contrariwise, when the race, amid comforts and healthy surroundings, is safe from the likelihood of diminution or extinction, Nature moderates her output of children.

The true causes of misery and poverty are the violence of nature in the form of plagues, famines, earthquakes, floods, and storms; and the sins of men. Why blame prolific parents for the distress of the poor, when we have under our eyes catastrophes of nature, the injustice of many of the rich, inadequate wages, excessive work, sloth, lack of economy, lavish expenditure and intemperance prevalent among great numbers of the poor?

Thirdly, the distresses of the poor are not nearly so lurid as they are painted by birth controllers and the replacement of them by prosperity and comfort is not necessary to insure virtue and morality.

There is much real happiness among the poor. Just as behind the beauty and luxury of palatial walls often enough black grief sits enthroned, so inversely, back of the squalor of the destitute there is often a fund of cheerfulness. Their sins are more open than those of the rich, cruder and not disguised by culture; but not so many nor so vile as the sins of the silken set. Physically they are as strong as the run of the pampered and effeminate rich, and from their loins have sprung as many men and women of genius as from families of wealth. While comfort and prosperity ought to make us better men and women, they quite generally have a deleterious effect. Hardship with its austere discipline is the maker of men. God Himself taught us this; and lest we should think Him a heartless and detached Teacher of morality, He became the Man of Sorrows and Poverty. God forbid that I should not wish and do my best to alleviate the miserable! But it is wrong to suppose that destitution has no redeeming qualities and to make a fetish of ease and plenty.

Fourthly, the virtue and morality of birth controllers are in reality forms of vice, as

we shall establish in our next lecture. Therefore, even if birth control, reduction of population, and amelioration of the economical conditions of the world were necessary means to their style of virtue and morality, yet these means would not be desirable, because the end at which they are aimed is not desirable.

It would appear then that birth control is not necessary for the high purposes of life.

Neither is it sufficient for them. Birth control is not a sufficient means to better the material condition of the poor, to improve the procreation and education of children, to reduce the death-rate and to abolish plague, famine, and war.

Birth controllers say: Lessen the number of consumers, and there will be more supplies for each of them. This is plausible, but not true. For if you lessen the number of consumers, you thereby lessen the number of producers of supplies; by the debilitating vice of contraception you lessen their capacity to produce supplies; by reducing the number of workers, thereby increasing the demand for their work, you lessen their incentive to industry; on account of the

shrinkage of the proletariat through birth control you lessen their power to prevent selfish monopolists from cornering supplies; and you facilitate the reversion of an overpayed, underworking laboring class to their former condition of destitution and misery through lavish expenditure and intemperance. H. G. Wells says that great numbers of workingmen are not needed in a world of machinery. But history shows that when machinery spreads, the demand for individual workingmen increases. Extra men are needed for the building of machines, and for the new markets and new commercial enterprises which are the offspring of mechanical industry.

Birth controllers say: Lessen the number of wage-earners, and you will increase the wages of each of them. This also is plausible, but not true. For if you lessen the number of wage-earners so as to increase wages, you increase the cost of living; you give occasion to employers to flood the labor market with imported cheap workers; and by swelling the pay-envelope at their expense, you tempt them strongly to withdraw productive capital from the field of industry and to stop exploiting the resources of na-

ture,—a result which would harm the working class as well as capitalists and the community at large.

Birth control does not improve the procreation and education of children. Birth controllers say that if there are fewer children, there will be better children. But why will children be better if they are fewer? If a human mother bore many children simultaneously, *i.e.,* at one birth, then *possibly* her offspring would be better, the fewer she bore; because in that case, she would have to divide her procreative force among many children and consequently lessen the energy communicated to each. I say "possibly," because the beast bears many young at a birth, and it is not apparent that each of them is less healthy than it would be if there were only one. But as a matter of fact a human mother produces her young successively, thus being able to give to each of them, taken singly, the best that is in her. Now that "best" does not diminish with use during the period of fertility, but after each birth is restored to its original forcefulness. For a mother is not like a reservoir whose water-level is lowered by draining, but like a fountain-head which is replenished while

it gives. Indeed, her fruitfulness seems to improve with time and use. For there is much evidence to show that generally the later-born children of a family are the most representative. Napoleon, Ignatius of Loyola, John Wesley, and Abraham Lincoln are a few examples of men of genius who were at or near the tail-end of their families. Through artificial birth control, the family and nation are deprived of the best scions of the race.

Birth controllers say: "Give us quality, not quantity." But quality is gotten only through quantity and numbers. Birth controllers imagine that comfort and prosperity improve the quality of mothers. But the environment of a life of ease is not more conducive to healthy parents and offspring than an environment of distress; and if poor mothers are weakened by hardship, privation, and child-bearing, Malthusian mothers are hurt more gravely by contraceptives.

Neither will birth control better the education of children. Within limits, the more a normal mother is required to do, the more she will be able to do. Capacity for work grows with working. If she has seven chil-

dren, she will be capable of educating seven; if one, she will possess only enough energy for one. Hence the Neo-Malthusian theory: "Have fewer children that you may train them better," is false. Besides, the debilitating habit of indulgence, developed by contraception, will unfit a mother for the arduous undertaking of educating her young. And if, perchance, rising superior to her moral lassitude and inertia, she devotes herself to her work, she will overdo it and by coddling, develop namby-pambies, not genuine daughters and sons. Moreover, a large family is a school of discipline where the rough edges of individuals are rubbed off by contact with other individuals of different character, tastes, ambitions, and needs. In a small family there is lacking the wholesome training of domestic democracy. And where there are only one or two children in a family, death taking the one or two, breaks up the family; the home is still and chill; the great motive for living slips away from parents, and in due time, a childless old age, with its wrinkles and white hair, comes to empty the hearts. If childlessness is not the fault of parents, God makes up to them for the defect. But if parents have them-

selves to blame, how can they expect the sunshine of heaven to warm and brighten their sear and yellow leaf?

So, it appears clear that contraception will not result in the ideal family which Utopian Neo-Malthusians like to portray.

Birth control will not lower the death-rate. Reliable statistics from France, England, Wales, and Ireland show convincingly that where the birth-rate is high in these countries, the death-rate is low; where the birth-rate is low, the death-rate is high. *A priori* speculation would lead one to think that it ought to be the other way; but observation proves the case to be as I state it.

Finally, plague, famine, and war! Will birth control be able to control these three direful "Horsemen of the Apocalypse"? Plagues strike the rich, comfortable, and sanitary as well as those who are not so favored. Famine has smitten without discrimination Bengal which is densely populated, Ireland which is moderately populated, and eastern Russia which is sparsely populated. And war! It is a mere assertion that over-population has caused most wars. From the Trojan war down through the expeditions of Alexander the Great,

Hannibal, Cæsar, Charlemagne and Napoleon, most wars have been due to ambition, lust of conquest, infatuation with military glory, restlessness, love, revenge and fear; —the fear of domestic turmoil and rebellion among the people of a State, not distracted by a foreign campaign, but left at home to brood over real or imaginary wrongs. These incentives would drive military men to battle even if population were reduced. Indeed, a nation with a large population is an impediment to war because enemies will fear to attack her. Should abundant population make the expansion of a nation with limited territory imperative, that nation has a right to expand; and if an army tries to block her legitimate path, the resulting war will not be due to the populous nation, but to the selfishness of her opponent. There is plenty of room on the face of the earth for all, and it would surely be putting a premium on greed if a nation were obliged to repress its natural fecundity so as to accommodate itself to the monopolizing exclusiveness of a territorial glutton.

In view of these reflections, it appears that birth control is neither necessary nor sufficient for the improvement of the race.

It is a "dud,"—a blank cartridge, sounding loud, but not striking home to the mind with the impact of conviction. Consign it, therefore, to the ash-heap of burnt-out theories. However, if perverse people insist on practicing birth-control, let them not hypocritically try to exalt and glorify vice, but be honest enough to call it by its right name.

## V

## BIRTH CONTROL; ITS WICKEDNESS

In the year two thousand five hundred, A. D., an angel takes me from my habitation in the sky and hurries with me through space to a distant planet. As we approach it, I recognize the earth. We hang over it for a while, and I marvel at what I see. There is not a living human being on the face of the globe. When I left the earth it was a place of gigantic forcefulness. I remember the vibrant energies of men, their vaulting ambition, their visions of greatness, their devotion to undertakings, their stubborn resistance under reverses, their joy in battle, their triumph in success. I recall the hum and whirl of cities, the rich yield of farms, the commercial life of water-courses and railways, the civilization and culture, the libraries, universities, churches and palatial residences alive with human interest, learning, pleasure, and piety.

All this is changed. Dead ships drift

through dead oceans, rudderless, with cold boilers and without men. Ploughs, caked with rust, dot the unworked fields. Great cities sag with decrepitude; streets are vacant and still; buildings are as noiseless as mausoleums; factories stagnate; trains, motionless on their tracks, seem to have been smitten with paralysis, mansions still stand with all their mouldy finery, but no men or women live in them. Indeed, they are now the habitations of denizens of the forest and jungle, who make the silken couches of luxury their lairs. I marvel at the universal still death of earth and ask my Mentor the reason for it. He answers: "Birth control!" Mankind has killed itself; this is the suicide of the race!

In my last lecture I supposed that birth controllers sincerely aim at the amelioration of the race and only maintained that their means are not necessary nor sufficient to that end. But does not a suspicion rest upon their sincerity? I shall not impugn the sincerity of any man, but it is fair to point out objective suspicions on one's sincerity. Surely there is a well-founded suspicion shadowing the Neo-Malthusian movement. For it is a direct and powerful appeal to

sexual indulgence. Even unconsciously to themselves, very likely, their love of sexual indulgence is their motive for birth control, whereas their reasons for it are only plausible arguments to bolster up a course of action which they pursue for pleasure's sake. At any rate, it is a fact that those who practice birth control most widely are the well-to-do, who, according to the birth-control programme, are the very ones who ought to insure the welfare of the race by having and educating choice children. And even if high-brows and the rich would practice contraception with moderation and for a good end, have they any assurance that the masses would not use it?

But supposing again the sincerity of Neo-Malthusians as to the end they have in view, I ask: are their means right or wrong?

In answer to this question, I say and shall establish that birth control is, first, wrong in itself, and, secondly, wrong on account of the awful effects which proceed from it.

If a thing is wrong in itself, it may never be done, no matter how excellent the end in view. For the end does not justify the means. Also a thing which in itself is indifferent, neither morally good nor bad, be-

comes morally bad if the evil results which flow from it are incomparably greater than the good effects.

Birth control is wrong in itself because it is contrary to nature. The natural effect of the marriage act, in favorable circumstances and under propitious conditions, is conception. Birth control directly and intentionally frustrates that effect by physical or chemical means. Hence, birth control is an unnatural sin (and a grave one because opposed to one of the most fundamental activities of nature). And the God of nature must prohibit it with the grave sanction of His law.

Whether an exception can be made to the natural law against birth control, I shall not discuss now. But if an exception is possible, it is to be made, not by men and women under the law, but by God, the Author of the law. Evidently, too, the exception must be made known to us, and the only two means of manifestation would be Divine Revelation or reason. But Revelation, far from indicating such a thing, describes fearfully the punishment inflicted on Onan for having committed the first sin of contraception recorded in history. Neither does reason re-

veal an exception to the law. Birth controllers say that if a thing is necessary or highly useful for the good of the race, and is not attended by bad effects of moment, it is not wrong. Granting their contention, having shown in my last lecture that birth control is not necessary nor sufficient for the bettering of the race, I shall make it clear that it is also followed by results of the most harrowing kind.

In opposition to the foregoing argument from nature against birth control, Neo-Malthusians say that many things against nature are not wrong; for example, says one of them: "We interfere with nature at every point. We shave, cut our hair, cook our food, fill cavities in our teeth (or wear artificial teeth), clothe ourselves, wear shoes, hats, and wash our faces; so why should birth control alone be sacred from the touch and play of human moulding?" And Doctor Dawson, the King of England's body physician, says: "Birth control is said to be unnatural! This word 'unnatural' perplexes me. Why, civilization involves the chaining of unnatural forces and the conversion of them to man's will and uses. Much of medicine and surgery consists of

means to overcome nature. It is no more unnatural to control conception by artificial means that to control child-birth by artificial means (anesthetics). Overeating, overdrinking, oversmoking, oversleeping do not carry condemnation of eating, drinking, smoking, sleeping, work."

The *control* of nature is right. But is the *frustration,* the *destruction* of nature right? The destruction of *irrational* and *inanimate nature, e.g.,* the slaughter of cattle, is right, because such things have been given to us by God for our use. But is the destruction of *human* nature right? The destruction of the *excesses,* the *defects,* the afflictions of human nature, *e. g.,* the cutting off of superfluous hair or the amputation of a gangrened limb, is right. But is the destruction of the *blessings,* the *perfections* of human nature right? The sacrifice of a *physical* part for the good of the *physical* whole is right. But is it right to sacrifice a physical whole for the good of a *moral* whole, of which the physical is a part; *e.g.,* to sacrifice a man for the good of the family or the State? Such a sacrifice is right in cases where the good to be derived is great, the attendant evil is not considerable, and where

the sacrifice is the only means of attaining the good end; because the composite intellect of mankind, of the Church, of the State and sane public opinion has pronounced it to be right. And in saying this, I am not voicing the principle: "The end justifies the means;" for in such cases the means becomes good and legitimate by the permission of God. For example, it is legitimate for the State to execute a criminal, to expose soldiers to death on the battle-field, to segregate persons afflicted with malignant diseases.

But the sacrifice of a human being for the family or State is not right when it takes the form of birth control, because birth control is not *control,* but frustration of human nature; a child is not an *affliction,* but a *blessing* of nature; birth control frustrates not a part of the child for the whole child, but the whole child; a child may not be frustrated for the good of the family or State. For a child (unlike a physical part of the body with reference to the whole body) is not intended by nature to redound exclusively to the advantage of the family and the State. Moreover, the evil which the Neo-Malthusians propose to avoid by birth con-

trol is not as great as they picture it; they overemphasize the number of epileptics and vicious in the world. Besides, how can birth controllers know that the children of defective parents will be defective? Weak-mindedness and vice are not always inheritable. Geniuses as well as imbeciles have sprung from mad parents. Saints as well as sinners have descended from vicious forbears. Moreover, epilepsy and freakishness have often been found joined to genius. Pascal was afflicted with vertigo and convulsions. Edgar Allan Poe has been classed as a psychic degenerate. Byron was subject to convulsions. Darwin seems to have suffered from chronic neurasthenia. Chopin was extremely nervous. Lombroso classes as epileptics Molière, Julius Cæsar, Petrarch, and Peter the Great. Newton is alleged to have been demented. Thus, birth control runs the risk of excluding from life geniuses as well as defectives. According to the Neo-Malthusian dictum, it is quality that counts, not quantity. Well then, one genius is better than ten thousand mediocrities; and it would pay to let ten thousand imbeciles come into the world so as to insure even the probable birth of one transcendent

man. Who knows but what our lack of genius and leadership, so loudly complained of today, is attributable to the mania for contraception?

Also, vicious and weak-minded men and women could be segregated and excluded from sexual intercourse, if their progeny would be a threat to the community.

The evil effects of birth control are so great (as we shall see), that in view of them an exception to the general law against birth control should never be allowed. One of these, which by way of anticipation I may mention here, would be the ever-increasing control of the State over fundamental rights of individuals, consequent upon the State being given the right to mutilate the vicious and imbeciles.

There is no parallel between the State's right to execute criminals and the supposed right to prevent the birth of undesirable children. For the former are punished by the State for guilt, but an unborn child is not guilty of any crime. By the execution of a criminal the State wishes to warn others against the commission of crime; but it would be absurd to suppose that the contraception of one child would be a warning to

other possible children not to come into the world.

Birth controllers say that, as an assailed man may defend himself against an aggressor by shooting him, so society may protect itself against defective children by birth control. But here again the comparison fails. For an unborn child does not use armed violence against anybody. It does not project itself into an unwelcoming world. Its parents do that. Hence, if anybody should be attacked by society, it should be the parents, not the child.

The high purpose of saving the fatherland justifies the exposure of soldiers to death, and the consequent evil is slight in comparison with the great good aimed at.

As to Dr. Dawson's arguments from medicine and surgery, medicine and surgery are means of overcoming, not the perfections, but the afflictions of nature; and while the artificial control of child-birth effects the birth of a child, the artificial control of conception results in the prevention of a birth. While eating, drinking, smoking, sleeping are not bad in themselves, but only in their excess, birth control is evil in itself. For these reasons the Church, the State, and

sane public opinion are agreed that birth control is never allowed.

By way of a second objection birth controllers say: If birth control is wrong, then nature herself does wrong. For she frustrates many conceptions by wasting procreative force when conditions are not favorable for conception.

That exuberant waste is intended by nature to make conception more certain, easy, and perfect. Besides, Nature, or rather the Author of nature, may do things that we under His law may not do. For example, Nature cannot be held responsible for killing a man by an earthquake; whereas you and I would be held responsible if we killed a man with a sword.

Third, they say: If birth control is wrong, celibacy is wrong.

There is quite a difference between refraining from using a faculty and frustrating its activities after use. Even refraining from using a faculty is wrong *as a rule,* since God gave us our faculties for use. But there are exceptions to every rule. There is high authority in Holy Scripture, in the words of Christ and St. Paul, for the exceptional state of a celibate life. Greater

efficiency and freedom in doing God's work, the desire of being wedded to Christ, are motives which justify religious celibacy. Such celibates can rise superior to the claims of nature by prayer, aloofness from their sex-opposites, and by becoming engrossed in work. Some fail, but the majority are an honor to mankind. Observation shows that health does not suffer from sex-isolation. Celibacy is a variation from the scarlet monotone of a sex-mad world. There is no danger to the propagation of the race from the abstention of a comparative handful, and at least they embody and express a noble aspiration and heroic effort, whereas birth control, pandering to sexuality, lacks the austere nobility of a lofty ambition and difficult enterprise.

But even if birth control were not evil in itself, it would be evil and forbidden on account of its harmful results. Birth control is opposed to the family and to Christ's precept of charity to the unfortunate. Birth control militates against the family because it is in contradiction to the threefold end of marriage: 1st, the procreation of children and the propagation of the human race; 2nd, mutual affection and respect of hus-

band and wife; 3rd, the legitimate indulgence of concupiscence. Moreover, it promotes divorce and also fornication among the unmarried.

If birth control gets a hold on the whole race of men, the race will perish. Birth controllers intend only to reduce population to a moderate size by their practices. But they are letting loose a tremendous malignant force, which will result in race suicide. We know from observation, history, and possibly from personal experience the volcanic, devouring power of sexual passion. The downfall of Rome and Greece bear witness to it. It will drive men to the quest of pleasure without regard for children, even when children will be needed. Patriotism, racial welfare, religion, family, decency will not appeal to them, because they will have become unnaturally callous to all higher appeals. Add to this, they will not be able to procreate because birth control leads to sterility. And thus, if birth control succeeds, we shall have the sort of earth which I described at the opening of this talk—a desolate, soundless planet, drifting through space as dead as the moon.

But there is one group of men who will

probably resist birth control and survive:—the Catholics. The Church will always denounce birth control as an unnatural vice and exclude from her communion members who persistently indulge in it. Generally her children obey her, as is evident from the statistically known greater fruitfulness of Catholic families. Let my non-Catholic brethren recognize and prevent this most likely Catholic monopoly of the earth. We Catholics should like to be important in the world, but not at the cost of Protestant suicide.

If birth control gets a hold on the white races of America and Europe, the "Yellow Peril" will become actual. For most probably, birth control will not succeed with the Orientals. They will be suspicious of Neo-Malthusian propaganda from the West, and bad as they may possibly be otherwise, they abhor this unnatural crime. Hence, their overwhelming numbers, along with their need of geographical expansion, their envy of the rich fields of the temperate zone, their long suppressed indignation at Western aggrandizement in the Orient, their desire of revenge and their potential leadership, which in past times embodied itself in

Attila with his Huns, Tamerlaine with his Tartars, and the Turks who took Constantinople and worked their way to the walls of Vienna, will stir them to flood the Western world; the European culture, civilization and Christianity of 2000 years will be ruined; America, with its wealth and its tradition of liberty, may be submerged in a yellow sea of humanity; and some day a handful of desolate whites, crowded on some mountain-top, will look across the land and see their former cities with their streets, office buildings, palaces and churches swarming with myriads of triumphant barbarians out of the Far East.

If birth control gets a hold on the so-called better classes of America, but not on the masses, we shall need no French Revolution nor Russian to project mobs into the mansions of wealth, with the torch and sword in hand, and madness in their hearts. For the scions of aristocracy will thin out and perish of their own volition; and their possessions will naturally cry out for new masters. Now this is likely to occur. For they are principally the ones who, not satisfied with the natural luxury of their environment, are seeking unnatural indulgence through con-

traception. Shall we warn them to open their eyes and see how their system of life has worked out in the past; for instance, in New England, in France which would have been submerged in the World War by the greater numbers of Germany had she not been helped; and where today statesmen are legislating in vain against birth control for the salvation of France? Shall we warn them or shall we leave them to their fate, under the conviction that their passing will be good riddance of a decaying limb on the tree of society?

But even if birth control should not succeed to this extent, it will still be an unspeakable evil. It is such today. For it is depriving innumerable infants of their right to live here and hereafter. The sun, the sky, fields, rivers, and mountains are awaiting them; but the manifold beauty of the universe they shall never behold. From the darkness of chaos they are clamoring, so to speak, for the warmth and milk of their mother's breast, her arms, caresses and smiles, her cradle, her home. But birth-controlling wives and husbands, smothering the instinct of parenthood, will not hearken to their cry. This is not figurative speech;

for those babies have a right to live, and their right clamors for a hearing. Or rather, to speak more exactly, God cries out to wives and husbands in their behalf. Birth control is the slaughter of the innocents, a worse one than Herod wrought; for his victims only had their lives curtailed; the victims of contraception are utterly deprived of life. If to take away a man's property, or his wife, or his reputation, or his life is evil, how superlatively wicked it must be to prevent an infant from even tasting life! And though the child be destined for hardship, yet, let him come; for to live in hardship is better than not to live at all. Christ, when on earth, said: "Let the little ones come unto Me"; and now in Heaven He says the same to the birth-controlling parents: "Prevent them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." When Dives sat feasting, with Lazarus hungering at his gate, Christ was indignant. He will be more indignant if a selfish husband and wife enjoy themselves, with their unborn infants clamoring in vain on the threshold of existence for a share in the feast of life. Infamously they say with Malthus: "There is no vacant place for the superfluous child at Na-

ture's mighty feast." You would not be cruel even to a strange dog which you saw in the street. How can you be so inhuman to your own potential children, whom you do not see? Beware of this sort of anticipatory murder! Otherwise, when you stand at the Great Throne to be judged, infant hands will be raised and infant voices cry out to the Judge for vengeance against you, their own potential parents, who deprived them of the possibility of Paradise!

Birth control destroys also the secondary end of marriage, the mutual affection and respect of husband and wife. True affection and gross carnal indulgence cannot coexist. For the one is tender and spiritual, while the other is commoner than clay. But birth control develops the habit of stark sexuality. For it concentrates the mind upon sexual intercourse and its perversion. Moreover, affection is spontaneous, not counting results; and, therefore, the cool, scientific calculation and preventive foresight of birth control of necessity dissipates affection. Also, it destroys mutual respect. One of the mysteries of life to the pure-minded youth is, how can an exquisite, ethereal maiden submit to the animal require-

ments of marriage? The mystery is solved for him by the double thought of wedded love and motherhood. Love, he sees, means giving all to the lover with tender and enthusiastic abandonment,—even the precious jewel of virginity. And motherhood is a glory worth paying for at the price of maidenhood. These two heavenly values spiritualize and beautify the act of the flesh. Hence birth control, excluding children, affectionate tenderness, and therefore also respect, reduces men and women to the level of beasts. The nobility of love disappears, the charm of romance is dissolved, idealism perishes, chivalric knighthood and exquisite ladyhood are no more,—and these sweet excellences of human nature are supplanted by an unveiled sex relationship. Indeed, birth control lowers us beneath the brutes, for brutes are not unnatural. In plain language, the relationship of birth-controlling wives and husbands is mutual prostitution, pure and simple; or worse, it is what Bernard Shaw, surely not a conservative thinker, stigmatized with the awful phrase "reciprocal masturbation."

Even the third end of marriage, the indulgence of concupiscence, is nullified by

birth control. For whereas sexual pleasure comes to the married who seek it not, but seek to love; on the contrary, those who seek pleasure for pleasure's sake find it tasteless when they get it.

And the logical consequence of a childless home, without affection and pleasure, is divorce. Most divorces occur between the childless. A child is a bond between husband and wife. The more children, the more bonds. Parents feel the responsibility of making and keeping a home for their children and of giving them an example of harmony. Care for their young takes their minds off each other; and so they live on together and the home is saved. But without children the bond of marriage is a rope of sand. Birth control also leads to fornication. Even the purest men and women who retain their integrity through high motives of virtue, are helped to be good by the prosaic and menial consideration of the disgrace of unwedded motherhood. Let birth control take away from unmarried women the likelihood of being found with child, and promiscuous sexual unions will probably become the normal condition of society. If that happens, we might as well throw up our

hands in despair and pray for the end of the world.

Some men practice Onanism out of a chivalric regard for the safety and ease of their wives. But such conduct destroys the very motive of chivalry. In the last analysis, the reason why men have a knightly respect for women is because they are mothers, either actually or in prospect. The charm of maidenhood and the grace of wifehood are only secondary forms of beauty reflected from the loveliness of motherhood. A man may be captivated by a woman's figure and face, and fascinated by her character, but he is annihilated in awful reverence (perhaps without recognizing the reason why) before the majesty and sweetness of her maternity. Take away motherhood from woman by birth control, and a man may still be a flatterer, a passionate suitor, a royal entertainer, a boon companion, a willing victim of her seductiveness,—but he will not be a knight. Woman must carry half the burden of life. Man fights the elements, promotes business, makes money, and wages war. Woman must bear and rear children. If she refuses this onus, she will be an ornament in society,—and a very expensive one

at that,—but nothing more. And man will despise her for her inanity. A brave man faces death in war; a good woman goes down into the shadow of death every time she bears a child. All honor to her for that! But if she declines that risk and glory, she is as contemptible as the man who shirks the battle-field. When a husband goes to the front, his wife says: "Stay with me!" But she wants him to go and would contemn him if he stayed. When a wife gets ready to give birth to a child, her husband may say: "Don't." But he wishes her to submit to the ordeal, and would think less of her if she shunned it. And if her man dies afield, she grieves for him, but glories in him. And if his woman dies in confinement, he is broken-hearted, but proud. If, therefore, a husband wishes to spare his wife in the name of chivalry, let her be wise enough to decline his indulgence, that she may insure his chivalry.

The excuse of insufficient means is too often, humanly speaking, justified. But wife and husband must put their trust in that Heavenly Father who feeds the birds of the air and tends the flowers of the field, and who will provide means, in some way

or other, for their children. Some newlyweds have extravagant ideas of the requirements of a family. But meanwhile let us continue to agitate against numbers of capitalists whose monopoly of wealth makes it extremely difficult for ordinary people to acquire enough money to raise a family.

We hear mothers say: "The Catholic Church is cruel to women." If this is so, she is cruel that she may be kind. The Catholic Church made woman what she is, and today is trying to save her from what she may become. Excess in any form is evil. In ancient times, the Church saved woman from the excess of sexual slavery. Today she is trying to save her from the excess of sexual license and independence, and from physical violence on the part of the male, who with cave-man fists will sooner or later beat woman to the ground again if she does not quit her extravagant pretensions of sex independence, motherless wifehood, individualist aspirations, political ambitions, and general mannishness.

There is still another thing the Church has in mind in forbidding birth control,—the bodily and mental harm it causes to the woman. In England, Doctor C. P. Blacker,

Dr. R. Gibbons, physician to the Grosvenor Hospital, Dr. Ernest Ware, surgeon to St. John and Elizabeth Hospitals, Dr. Hector Cameron, physician to Guy's Hospital, Dr. Mary Scharlieb, gynæcologist to the Royal Free Hospital, Dr. F. J. McCann, surgeon to the Samaritan for Women, Sir A. Rice-Oxley, M.D., Mr. Bellingham Smith, senior professor of gynæcology at the London School of Medicine for Women, Dr. Arthur E. Giles, senior surgeon of the Chelsea Women's Hospital, Dr. T. W. Taylor, President of the British Gynæcological Society; and in America, Dr. S. J. Holmes, zoölogist of the University of California, and Dr. Howard A. Kelley, gynæcologist of Johns Hopkins Medical School, are only some of the first-class surgeons and physicians who have pronounced from their experience that contraception injures women bodily and mentally. The latest report I received is from Dr. Hastings Gilford, of London, a former Hunterian professor of the Royal College of Surgeons, who, in a lecture delivered at the Royal Institute of Public Health, said that grim cancer is the Nemesis which follows birth control and the evasion of nature's laws. Dr. Courtenay Dunn, of

Torquay, expressed his agreement with Dr. Gilford and added: "It is better to trust to Providence than to seek for aid in a direction of which you are ignorant."

Dr. Dawson says that sexual intercourse may be indulged in without the intention of having children simply for the sake of affection. There are two kinds of ends: primary, and secondary or dependent. A secondary end may be pursued only in conjunction with and dependently upon the primary end. Even birth controllers admit that procreation is the primary end of marriage, and affection the secondary. Hence it is evident that affection may not be indulged in the marriage act to the exclusion of possible procreation. It is not necessary that wife and husband should have the positive intention of having children, but it is requisite that they should not take artificial means to defeat that possibility. In the heyday of Roman power, the aristocracy of the City used to feast to repletion, then take an emetic (pardon the reference), vomit and return to another feast. These gluttons did not eat for nutrition, but only to gratify the appetite. Far more unnatural and disgusting than the Roman perversion is the Neo-

Malthusian practice of surfeiting themselves with sexual delight, then defeating the reproductive purpose and consequence of that delight.

The last charge against birth control is that it is in contradiction to the fundamental teaching and practice of Christianity;—fraternal charity towards the poor and unfortunate. "The survival of the fittest" is plausible. But Christ did not act on that principle. He spent His life in tenderly ameliorating the lot of the unfortunate. Sacred Scripture says: "He went around doing good" to the poor, the lame, the blind, the dumb, lepers, orphans, widows and sinners, epileptics and possessed. In a word, He was the Father of the "down-and-out."

Birth controllers on the contrary are cruel to the poor and flatter the rich; assuring the latter that they are in no way to blame for the misery of the populace; the uncontrolled fecundity of the populace is to blame. Instead of sympathizing with the poor, they add insult to injury by telling them that they have no complaint against the rich. Indeed, one of the most harmful features of birth control is that it distracts men's minds from one of the chief causes of dis-

tress, the cupidity of many rich, and prevents reformation in that direction. Birth controllers go further into the vice of positive cruelty. They would annihilate the unfortunate. For since they wish to have a future fit race; since the destitute cannot procreate a fit race; since, however, the destitute will propagate if they are made comfortable by the charity of the rich; therefore, the rich ought to withhold their charity from them and let them perish out of hand. Hospitals for derelicts, refuges for wayward girls, asylums for illegitimate children, and detention homes for wild boys ought to be closed. You will find this doctrine in the latest book of Mrs. Sanger. Contrast this pseudo-saviour of the race with the meek and gentle Jesus who said: "I have compassion on the multitude."

And the economy of Jesus has *worked*. For it brought into the world a thing that had never been there before; the sweetest thing in the valley of tears: mercy, compassion, generosity in the hearts of the rich; and in the breasts of the poor, consolation, peace, self-respect, patience, and humility. This mutual attitude of rich and poor is the beautiful soul of Christianity. And what

I may call its body has been an improved and ever improving economic condition among the masses of Christendom. 'Anyone who says that Christianity has been too ideal and spiritual, and, in practice, has not bettered the material side of the world, is ignorant of history. Let such a one make a study of the history of Christianity and let him contemplate the economic improvement which is being made by the Church, the State, and private organizations, whether religious or not; let him consider the labor unions, pensions for old persons, widows, children and the disabled; the rising wages, the more comfortable homes and the more wholesome food of the poor, and the protection of children from factories; then let him withdraw his accusation that Christianity has not saved the poor and cannot do so in future.

If we practice the justice and charity of Christ, but especially if we keep before our eyes the example of Christ, the Aristocrat of Heaven, who became plebeian of earth for the love of us poor creatures, that He might make us denizens of Heaven; we shall not indeed enjoy that perfect prosperity which is the Neo-Malthusian middle-class ideal of

heaven on earth, but we shall be blessed with a decent sufficiency, which is the best condition of contentment here below and the surest way to our heavenly home.

## VI

## THE REPUBLIC AND THE CHURCH

While I have been enumerating the enemies of America, some one of you may have said to himself: "Why not include the Catholic Church in the list?"

There has been a wide-spread and persistent notion among many Americans that the Catholic Church is inimical to America. A characteristic of this adverse view is its comprehensiveness; and in this lies its weakness; for no church, unless it came from hell, could be guilty of so many and such contradictory sins as are attributed to the Catholic Church. She is said to be at one and the same time too worldly and too unworldly; too sensuous in her ritualistic appeal and too forbidding and austere in her laws; too outspoken and too devious, subtile and indirect; too aristocratic in opposition to labor and too plebeian against capital; too opposed to the family by her priestly celibacy and religious chastity and too fa-

vorable to the family by her laws against birth control; too tolerant of ignorance, too ambitious of learning; too glad and too sad. How can the most capable Catholic apologist hope to cope with such a Protean charge!

Cardinal Newman, who, having been a Protestant, knew whereof he spoke, and besides was not contradicted for his assertion, said that for three hundred years a systematic propaganda had been carried on in England to blacken the name of the Catholic Church. Success attended the effort of the propagandists and the bitter feeling of Englishmen towards Rome was brought to the Colonies. The American Revolutionists did not wholly succeed in uprooting the noxious weed of religious animosity; and so we had the Know-Nothing Movement in the middle of the last century, A.P.A.'ism in 1890, and we are witnessing Ku Kluxism today.

Intolerant men either accuse the Church of crimes of which she is guiltless, or exaggerate real faults in her past, or do not give the palliating background of history in which she lived, or show only one side of the picture, forgetting the difficulties with

which she had to contend in dealing with unscrupulous tyrants against whom she had to assume a harsh and menacing front; or they blame her for the sins of her children, or they assert that her enormous success in America is a menace to the Republic.

They have succeeded because theirs has been an appeal to ignorance, religious rancor, and spurious patriotism; because in some quarters Catholics are too uninstructed, poor, and humbled by religious obloquy to be able or willing to put up a defense; while Catholics in other quarters think that silence is the most dignified attitude for gentlemen to assume against calumniators, and that persecution is the proud lot of the Church, which will survive calumny and grow on adversity. We have a notable exception to the group of silent and passive Catholics in the person of Mr. Theodore McManus, of Detroit, who in his "Leper Colony of Toledo" embodied as fine a defense as may be encountered in a generation. Catholic laymen ought to be willing, like him, to break an occasional lance for the Church; because the Church's guarantee of perpetuity in the world in general gives us no assurance that she may not be crushed

in America through our negligence, as she was in England three centuries ago.

From boyhood days I have been disgusted with the wild, unproven accusations against the Church. Hence I was more than pleased when Mr. Williams, of *The Commonweal,* challenged, through *The Forum,* the enemies of Catholicity to present their proofs. "Now," I thought, "we may hear some reputable arguments." But I was disappointed. For the articles of Messrs. Chapman and Fame were hardly more than beatified Ku Klux diatribes—vulgar invectives with an aureola of respectability and style. The only plausible argument in the whole farrago of abuse was the criticism of the Syllabus of Pius IX. The critic, however, was treading on dangerous ground, for he was under the disadvantage of being a mere layman interpreting a document which only an expert, acquainted with the formal, stereotyped technicalities of theological language would have essayed. Among other blunders he makes the mistake of explaining a text, wrenched from its context, disregarding the Bull of which the Syllabus is only a crystallization and an epitome, and not even glancing at the false doctrines

which the Syllabus intends to contradict and from which alone the true meaning of the Syllabus can be gleaned. I cannot explain the Syllabus tonight, but I propose to consider and enlarge on one of the accusations brought against it.

The accusation comes to this: "The Syllabus repeats all the old-time autocratic claims of the Church."

Brethren, the Church does make certain autocratic but just claims; and you have heard, unto nausea, enemies abusing them. They put it in this way: "The Pope is worse than the Czar:" "He would subject civil governments to his rule;" "The Church is opposed to democracy;" "In past ages, she tried to rule the world;" "The American hierarchy oppose the public schools and aspire to a union of Church and State." Mr. Jay Chapman absolves Catholic laymen of participation in such nefarious intentions on the plea that they (poor lambs!) are unaware of the machinations of their bishops and priests. I dare say that Catholic laymen will not accept the reputation of innocence at the price of being accounted fools and ignoramuses.

In order that an approach may be made

to this wholesale indictment of the Catholic Church, it will be well to draw distinctions between the Church's *temporal* and *spiritual* power, between her *teaching* and *jurisdiction,* between non-Catholic and Catholic governments, between present and past times.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, the pope was the chief defender of the environment of Rome against Huns, Goths, Lombards, and the Byzantine emperors. The people of Rome loved the popes and looked to them for protection. It is no wonder, then, that when Pepin, king of the Franks, ceded the Roman States to the successor of St. Peter, the people of the City were glad. Through the centuries, with varying vicissitudes, the temporal power lasted, until the spoliation of 1870,—an outright robbery perpetrated against a helpless man. The pope remains a prisoner in the Vatican, in protest against that wrong.

That the pope should in some manner be independent of every civil power in ruling the world seems evident. But whether in view of the disadvantage of temporal power, he looks for the restoration of the Papal States, not, of course, by arms, but by a belated recognition of his just claims, I do not

know. But this I do know, that an American friend of mine, Father Macksey, a Jesuit, formerly professor of the Gregorian University at Rome, taught there in the shadow of the Vatican, without disapprobation, that the temporal power is not desirable.

You must understand that temporal power is not a part of the institution of Christ. It was an acquisition which the popes thought, whether wisely or unwisely, would facilitate their government of the Church. It was to the temporal power that were due many of those unacceptable occurrences which Protestants sometimes attribute to the pope's spiritual sovereignty. For instance, the part taken by the pope in the expedition of the Spanish Armada against Elizabeth. Let me say in passing that, though Elizabeth was the insatiable persecutor of her Catholic subjects, and, being the illegitimate daughter of Henry VIII, was the wrongful holder of the English throne, Catholics in England took sides with her against Spain.

Temporal power has had its disadvantages. For example, politics and luxury at papal courts, wars and national activities,

which distracted the popes from their spiritual work. Yet, I am of opinion that, in view of the prestige which it gave the popes in Europe; in view of the halt which it enabled them to put to tyrannical aggressions against the rights of the people and the immunities of the Church; and in view of the encouragement which as moneyed potentates the pope could and did give to artists like Michelangelo and Raphael, to the builders of St. Peter's and other cathedrals, to men of letters and founders of universities, and to missionaries for the spread of religion in foreign lands,—the temporal power was more of a blessing than a curse.

But whether this be true or not, Americans are certainly not subject to the temporal power of the pope. Italy as a papal government would mean nothing more to us than any other government, and if the pope should war with America, we would take up arms against him, as the French and other Europeans did in past centuries. We have an episcopate, the members of which would resent any aggression on the part of the pope. For the comfort of those foolish persons who fancy the pope coming to America and flying the papal flag from the

capitol at Washington, let me hasten to state the almost certain judgment of Catholic theologians, *i. e.,* the moment the Bishop of Rome would change his diocese, he would by the very act of change cease to be pope of the world. Also may I ask, do these people really look upon a powerless old man as a necromancer, who could conquer the American nation by the wave of a mystic wand, or by the secret influence of black magic and wizard spells, a papal bull, a rosary, a crucifix, or some other spiritual amulet of the kind?

In regard to the pope's spiritual power of teaching, we hear a similar cry: "Autocracy! Catholics must bend to every thing the pope says. They must be blind. Some day he may declare that America is not tolerable and then Catholics will have to look upon America with inimical eyes."

The pope's infallibility is concerned only with the Word of God, either written in Holy Scripture or spoken;—a word which ceased with John, the Evangelist. Hence it is not intended for pronouncements on civil government, culture, science or progress, except in so far as these activities bear on God's Word. Even in the Sacred Word, the

only thing that concerns the Church is faith and morals. For this reason she does not pretend to be able to judge infallibly of Scriptural history, geography or biology, except in so far as they bear on faith and morals. Moreover, infallibility even in regard to faith and morals belongs to the pope only when he speaks *ex cathedra,* as sovereign pontiff for the whole Church. Such declarations have been few and far between in the history of the Church, and concerned only with fundamental issues of salvation. As a consequence, the field for differences of opinion among Catholic theologians has been most ample. No other church can show a more brilliant and larger number of theologians whose controversies in philosophy and theology have struck the highest mark of free thought in the history of Christianity. But in regard to fundamentals of faith, an infallible teacher is needed, as is evinced by the Joseph's coat of creeds now prevalent in the world.

In spiritual jurisdiction the pope is absolute because Christ made him so. Catholics do not accept an autocratic rule of the Church because it naturally appeals to them, but because it is the ordination of Christ.

However, the Church's autocratic jurisdiction has its appeal. For there is a special usefulness in ecclesiastical autocracy. The Church, unlike civil governments, lacks the unifying elements of one race, one geographical locality, one tradition, one national spirit, one education, and one outlook. She comprises a variety of nations, governments, systems of education, places and climes. Therefore, she is imperatively in need of the one unifying element of a centralized power which will be both the cause and symbol of corporate oneness. While people of one nation in one locality can vote for a ruler with facility, difficulties almost insurmountable would be encountered in taking a world-wide vote for a pope. Moreover, while the rule of the people in a democracy is a natural right, sprung from the nature of civil society, authority and the natural dignity of free men; on the contrary, the rule of the people in the Church would not be a natural right, because the Church is supernatural. Besides, while the people of a civil government are competent to judge of the issues of civil government, at least in their broad outlines, it is evident that only trained experts can know suf-

ficiently the supernatural principles which are back of a world-wide spiritual rule.

The spiritual jurisdiction of the Church may be viewed with reference to matters purely spiritual, matters purely civil, and matters partly civil and partly spiritual.

In matters purely spiritual the Church possesses full jurisdiction over her subjects. Though in matters juridical there cannot be any question of infallibility, which is concerned with teaching, not with commanding; yet a Catholic is held to obedience under penalty of sin, more or less grievous, according to the matter. There is no danger of the autocratic power of the Church in spirituals being extended to temporals. For Catholic laymen are jealous of their civil rights in proportion to their loyal acknowledgment of the Church's right in spirituals. The use of church influence in politics must be looked for outside the Catholic Church. The ecclesiastico-political history of this city and State, and, indeed, to some extent, of the United States, bears me out in what I say. Indeed the suspicion is well-founded that certain men of the country continually harp on the Church's interference in politics in order to distract the

people's mind from their own interference in politics.

In matters purely civil, the Church has no authority. Civil society is an institution of nature, antecedent to every church. It has its own end, which is the temporal welfare of men, and is competent to pursue it by its own authority.

In matters partly civil and partly spiritual, if Church and State should have a difference, an arrangement could generally be made between them. But failing this, the spiritual must prevail over the temporal as far as Catholics are concerned. For instance, if a State insisted on taking away the parents' right of educating their children, a Catholic would be obliged to obey the Church in her demand that Catholic parents shall retain and exercise that right.

This is the Church's attitude towards individual Catholics. In regard to her attitude towards civil governments, distinctions must be drawn between Catholic governments, over which she has the same jurisdiction as over individual Catholics in matters partly civil and partly spiritual; governments of Catholics and non-Catholic Christians, in reference to which she fore-

goes her rights; infidel governments, like that of the Turks, and governments, like our own, which are non-Christian and include Christians and non-Christians, over which she possesses no direct right.

Non-Catholics are often unfair to the medieval popes. They should remember that the popes had to deal with tyrants who tried to ruin the Church. Is it any wonder, then, that some of the popes made exorbitant claims against exorbitant kings? Besides, their claims were quite generally admitted as just by the peoples of those days; and we Americans should be the first to recognize that the will of the people should have influence in deciding the justice of claims. Moreover, the civilization of the Middle Ages was chiefly due to the papacy. It is not surprising then that the popes wished to exercise some dominion over the civilization for which they were accountable. Keep in mind, too, that all the peoples then were Catholic, and it was in their defense that the popes fought against autocrats. Indeed, if they had not waged that warfare, most likely the very moderns who criticize them today for their exercise of power, would not be enjoying their liberties,

but would be serfs in an arbitrary government.

In connection with the Church's jurisdiction in matters partly civil and partly spiritual, two remarks must be made on her attitude towards union of Church and State and towards the public schools.

In Catholic countries, union of State and Church is *in itself* desirable. Whether, in view of the crucifixions which the popes have undergone on account of such unions in the past, they would wish for a renewal of them, I doubt. American Catholics do not want a union of Church and State in America. Cardinal Gibbons certainly made that plain in his day. The hierarchy now ruling our Church hold with him, because in view of the multiplicity of churches here, union of Church and State would be impossible, and because the Catholic Church is flourishing luxuriantly without it.

Public schools are not an American institution in the sense that they are provided for by the Constitution, or that they were the schools prevalent in the country before 1830, or that even today they are adopted by all Americans, or that those who believe

in them hold that non-religious education is an ideal system. Horace Mann, in 1830, instituted them in place of denominational schools, which at that time all children, despite their religious scruples, had to attend. Insofar as they prepare for citizenship, Catholics praise these schools. If they criticize them, it is because, as taxpayers, they have a right to criticize.

Their criticism is constructive, aiming as it does at improving the schools. In Horace Mann's mind the only alternative was obligatory, denominational schools and the present public school. Catholics think that a third alternative are denominational schools for diverse denominations, such as Protestant England and Canada and Catholic Belgium provide for their various religionists.

With these statements of facts and principles it must be clear to every fair-minded man and woman that the Catholic Church has not been an enemy of the State.

On the contrary, the Catholic Church has been the best friend of governments in general, especially of democracies, and most particularly of our Republic. This will ap-

pear if we consider: 1st, What she teaches; 2ndly, what she is and has done; 3rdly, what she hopes to be.

Any organization that emphasizes the hereafter and the spiritual, as the Church does, draws off the minds of men from that excessive love of the temporal and material which is the cause of most civic disturbances. Moreover, the Church constantly keeps before our eyes the elevating character of Christ. In the pulpit and confessional she insists on the practice of morality and execrates in particular those two gigantic immoralities which, if not repressed, will ruin our nation, namely, birth control and divorce. She maintains the right of private property so strongly that she has become the mark of the fiercest attacks of Socialists. At the same time she defends the right of the workingmen to a living wage and their consequent right to unionize and strike in cases of necessity. She opposes monopoly of business and excessive concentration of wealth. Accordingly, she makes enemies of extremists among the rich no less than among the poor. Her judicial position is very disagreeable. But she keeps it for the sake of the welfare of the State. She

spends her best efforts in educating her children for citizenship and she is the most redoubtable champion of civil authority. Of old, she created the States of Europe, and today, no less than then, she proclaims against anarchists that people must obey civil authority because it is from God. She takes hold of foreigners who, when they come to us, are wroth at all governments on account of the unjust repression to which they were subjected in their own homes; and she moulds them into good American citizens. Indeed, I could quote the words of a foremost Protestant American statesman, still living, who a few years ago favored a Carnegie grant of money to Marquette, the Catholic University of Milwaukee, because, as he said, America would have gone on the rocks long ago had it not been for the Catholic Church. He was referring, of course, to her saving influence, especially among foreigners, against the spirit of anarchy.

In contrast with her maintenance of civil authority, she defended the rights of the people against medieval tyrants, and today American Catholics are foremost in trying to preserve individual rights against State

aggression, and State rights against undue Federal assumption of power.

In particular, the Catholic Church is the friend of democracies. In old English days, the barons who fought for their liberties against King John were led by Bishop Langton, an ecclesiastic in favor at Rome; and Magna Charta was approved by the pope. Also, as I told you in the initial sermon of this course, the first writer to set forth in scientific form the principles of democracy upon which our government was built, was Cardinal Bellarmine, a Jesuit of the sixteenth century; and his opponent, the embodiment of autocracy, was a Protestant king of Protestant England. I do not say this aggressively, but defensively, against those who harp on the Church's opposition to democracy. I need not mention that one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence was a Catholic; that the number of Catholics in the Revolutionary army was proportionately in excess of the Catholic population of the Colonies; and that the stand taken by Catholics in the late great war, with ecclesiastical approbation, was beyond reproach.

The Church's approval of democracies is

an outward expression of her own democratic spirit. For in many ways she partakes of the character of democracy. Just as any American can be president, so any Catholic man can be priest, bishop, and pope. It is a matter of history that popes have been chosen as frequently from the common people as from the *élite*. There is no hereditary monopoly of power in the papacy. Unlike kings, the pope has no sons who succeed him. He has all spiritual power while he lives, but cannot extend it beyond his death. He is elected by cardinals not of his making. Hence, he cannot have any personal motive for the distribution of favors among them. He rules without civil power or military force, by the persuasive appeal of moral motives and spiritual incentives, in the name of Christ, charity, justice, and right. He is a king who cannot compel. Yet some 300,000,000 people the world over obey him with affection and loyalty. He must rule according to the canons and traditions of the Church. He must have regard for the susceptibilities of various nationalities, their natural characteristics, customs and privileges, and for the rights of their bishops. Because he is

so sure of his power at the center, he does not exercise it much at a distance. Recourse can be had to him by the poorest Catholic against bishops and priests. He carries the burdens, but does not enjoy the pleasures of kings. The Founder of his kingdom was a poor Man, and the major portion of his flock are the poor, whom he regards with utmost devotion. If the Catholic Church does not largely partake of democracy, what does? And if, in her democratic spirit, she is not kin to our American democracy, pray tell, what *is?* Yet, strange to say, this very spirit of hers is sometimes held up to scorn.

One of the sarcasms of worldly men is that the Catholic Church is a church of vulgarians. They enjoy themselves drawing a contrast between non-Catholic churches with their fashionable congregations and *élite* pastors and the Catholic Church with its crude gatherings and uncultured priests. Limousines, lorgnettes, tailored gowns, silk hats, cultured accents, literary appreciation and critical evaluation of sermons are characteristic of congregations of the one church, they say; and street-cars, dowdy

garments, credulous looks and open mouths, queer odors and an indiscriminating acceptance of everything the priest says; foreigners, laboring men, clerks, housewives, and working girls are marks of the congregations of the other church. The Catholic Church will do for the slums and laboring sections of our cities, keeping the rabble in order. Let us praise her for that, they say. She likes to deal with the rough elements. Everyone to his task! As a matter of fact, she has not the finesse requisite for handling the refined. Let her be, in order that through her policing, we may remain safely ensconced in our exclusive pews around our choice pulpit in the midst of well-groomed fellow-parishioners, listening to gilt-edged sermons from the lips of hand-picked ministers. Fools, do they realize that their aristocratic exclusiveness excludes them from that sublime commonalty of Christianity and democracy which the Catholic Church clings to as her most precious possession?

But the Church's universality no less than her commonalty makes her democratic. For a church which is not limited to any particular State, being a moral world-

power, will be better able than a local church to save people from the tyranny of any particular government.

People blame the Catholic Church for its conflicts with the State. Such conflicts are not an altogether unhealthy sign. They show that both State and Church are conscious and proud of their identity. State and Church arrange their differences if they can, and fight over them if they can't. The real tragedy is the misfortune of a church being enslaved by a State or a State by a church. History shows that whenever a church was coterminous with any particular State, it became the tool of the State and ceased to be the defender of the people. An example of this is the Greek Orthodox Church of Russia.

The Catholic Church has been a friend of America by what she teaches, by what she has done, by what she is. She would also show her friendship by what she hopes to be. I do not speak with authoritative sanction, but it is my opinion that the pope hopes to be the arbiter of the world. I do not say that he hopes for temporal power or for any *authoritative* power over international affairs, but that he looks forward to the day

when, at the invitation of nations, he may have the opportunity of applying the soothing salve of Christianity to the wounds of the world.

And why should not any man, most of all he, entertain the idea of such a prospect? To salve wounds, to break down prejudices, to dissipate wrath, to remove mutual antipathies, to compromise differences, to change hate into respect and love, to induce nations to live together, to think and work together in peace:—is there anything more godlike on earth than this? True, the work of pacifying nations has not upon it the glamour of romance, the sparkle of arms, the dashing brilliancy of a military campaign. Hence it does not captivate the imagination, set the emotions aflame and electrify our faculties with enthusiasm. Rather it is quiet, unobtrusive, hidden; even dull, monotonous, and drab. But it is essentially grand. For peace among men and nations is the essential perfection of life. Edmund Burke said: "To restore order and repose is, merely in the attempt, an undertaking that would ennoble the flights of the highest genius and obtain pardon for the efforts of the meanest understanding." Will the

pope or any other man be blamed for ambitioning an office like this?

A world arbiter is imperatively needed today. Europe, America, Asia, have within their borders the elements of a military conflagration.

The Hague Conferences have failed. The League of Nations has been discredited. An international court is under suspicion because of its identity with the League of Nations, because its members would carry to the court their national predilections and antipathies, and because it is doubtful whether there can be a super-state or a super-court over nations; for each nation, according to the law of nature, ought to be sovereign under God. George Washington, who knew whereof he spoke, solemnly warned us to keep clear of foreign entanglements. Europeans are pastmasters in the art of diplomacy; we are not: and every time we have engaged them in a diplomatic passage of arms, we have suffered. Naturally judges of Europe would be inclined to combine against the western continent. We can help European nations better by keeping out of their conflicts than by becoming a party to them. Interna-

tional affairs, as we know by experience, can be settled not by the principles of civil law, but by the principles of morality and religion which belong to a representative of religion and morality.

The pope would be the logical man. For his rule is coterminous with the earth; he is interested in every nation and government. He is without armies or civil power; he has only the arms of Christ's doctrine and example; his laws and Sacraments; principles of reason and justice and brotherly love; brains and diplomacy. He would not favor Italy which robbed him; nor Europe, for he must see that pre-eminence in religion as well as in worldly power has passed from Europe to America; nor Catholics, for aside from the fact that Catholics are in every government, he would be deterred from Catholic favoritism by the certain loss of prestige it would bring. If he would incline towards anyone, it would be the United States, a democracy like his own, which had no selfish interest in the war, kept out of it as long as possible, and after helping to win it claimed nothing, but, like the Good Samaritan, fed starving Europe for years.

Napoleon said that if there were no pope, we should have to create one as arbiter of the world. The infidel government of France, Protestant Germany and England, even pagan China and Japan, not to speak of Catholic nations, have their ambassadors or ministers at the Vatican, because they appreciate the spiritual influence the pope has on earth. Can America continue to be blind to it?

And so I like to indulge the vision of the Great White Shepherd of the Seven Hills, like his Master of Galilee, keeping the flock of mankind in peace; and since every shepherd has his favorite lamb, I picture the pope looking with specially benign eyes on America.

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